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SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY
Editors

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VOLUME VII
OCTOBER, 1921, TO JULY 1922

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NORTHAMPTON, MASS.
Published Quarterly by the Department of History of Smith College

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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Edited by Johnson Spencer Bassett

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Vol. VII
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October, 1921
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Smith College Studies in History

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY
Editors

MAJOR HOWELL TATUM'S JOURNAL

While Acting Topographical Engineer (1814)

TO GENERAL JACKSON

Commanding the Seventh Military District

Edited By
JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Howell Tatum, the author of the report that is herewith published for the first time, was of a family prominent in North Carolina in the period of the revolution. From Heitman's "Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army" we have the following statement: "Tatum, Howell (N. C.), Ensign 1st North Carolina, 1st September, 1775; 2nd Lieutenant, 4th January, 1776; 1st Lieutenant, 28th March, 1776; Captain, 3rd April, 1777. Taken prisoner at Charleston 12th May, 1780; exchanged 14th June, 1781; resigned 20th May, 1782." Beyond this brief mention the only additional fact we have about his military experience during the revolution is in his own statement describing in the subjoined report the artillery battle at New Orleans, January 1, 1815. "This discharge," he says, "was met with great spirit and zeal on the part of the defenders by an incessant fire of Ball, Grape and shell from their batteries. I had never before witnessed so severe a cannonade for the time it lasted, as on this occasion (even in the six weeks siege of the City of Charleston, in 1780). The firing was, almost, without intermission on both sides for nearly three hours."

After resigning from the army in 1782 Captain Tatum turned to the law. At some time he must have studied surveying, an accomplishment of many of the bright young men of the colonies. His topographical notes of the voyage down the Alabama River in 1814 show how well he was versed in that art. As a lawyer he was in Nashville as early as 1790; for when Tennessee was organized as a territory under federal authority, after it had been ceded by North Carolina, Tatum was one of the lawyers whom the new governor licensed to practise law at that place on December 15 of that year. It is of interest to see who were the others. In the records of the local court the names stand as follows: "Josiah Love, John Overton, Andrew Jackson, David Allison, Howell Tatum, James Cole Mountflorence, and James White." If, as seems probable, the order

in which these persons are mentioned indicates the priority of their residence in the country, Tatum must have arrived in West Tennessee about the same time that Jackson arrived, that is, in 1785. There follows scant mention of him in the local records. But enough is known to show that he was treasurer of Mero District from 1794 to 1796, attorney-general of the same district from 1796 to 1797, and judge of the superior court of law and equity from May 12, 1797, to September 20, 1798. At some time, also, he was a commissioner of land claims through the appointment of the legislature.[1]

For a long time after this he seems to have been out of public office for his name does not appear in any available records. But with the outbreak of the war of 1812 he placed his services at the disposal of the government. His revolutionary experience gave him the right to a good appointment. He does not seem to have been with Jackson in the Creek campaign; but he was with him at Camp Jackson in the summer of 1814, when the commander was making the Creek treaty and thus completing the work done at the battle of the Horseshoe. From that place to the end of the New Orleans campaign Tatum, with the rank of major, followed his chieftain in the capacity of topographical engineer. Tatum's services must not be confused with those of Major A. Lacarriere Latour who also served Jackson as engineer. Latour's special training was in the construction of defences and in that capacity he rendered signal services.

Major Tatum's "Journal" exists in his own hand. In the Jackson Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are some stray sheets in Tatum's handwriting which may have been a part of the draft from which the completed "Journal" was prepared. The fair copy is in the office of the Chief Engineer of the army and the copy from which the publication now offered to the public has been made was furnished to the editor through the kindness of Major Thomas M. Robins, Corps of Engineers,

[1] For these facts on Tatum's career in office the Editor is indebted to Judge John H. DeWitt, President of the Tennessee Historical Society.

United States Army. Its value consists in the direct, first-hand evidence it gives of the campaign together with the minute account of the topography of the Alabama River, with the clearings along it before it began to be settled by the whites from the United States. It deserves to be ranked, among the original narratives of the battle of New Orleans, with Major Latour's "Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana, 1814 and 1815" (1816) and the British account by Gleig, published as "The Campaign of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans in the years 1814 and 1815" (1821), and as "A Subaltern in America" (1833). The text is reproduced with exact fidelity to the official copy in the war department, save for a very few instances in which errors of spelling of proper names had apparently come about through carelessness on the part of the writer of the "Journal." In such cases it was thought best to correct the errors. The few mutilated places are indicated and efforts to supply the missing words are shown by brackets.

Major Tatum's "Journal" is not dated. But there is internal evidence to indicate that it was written before the capture of Fort Bowyer by the British, February 12, 1815. As the last entry is for January 20, 1815, it is probable that it was written concurrently with the events described and completed between January 20 and February 12. The last paragraph, in which is mentioned June 15, 1815, the date on which Major Tatum retired from military service, was probably written after the main narrative was completed.

Major H. Tatum's Journal While Acting Topographical Engineer (1814) to General Jackson,

Commanding 7th Military District

(Not recorded, but noticed in margin of Rep. Book, pa. 11)

Having received a letter of appointment to the office of Topographical Engineer, from Major General Jackson, Commanding the 7th Military District, with instructions, in case of acceptance, to join him without delay, wherever his Headquarters might be, I accordingly advised him, by letter dated June 28th, 1814, that I had accepted the appointment and should proceed on my route to join him with as little delay as possible, or to that effect. In pursuance of this notification I left Nashville, Tennessee, on the 6th of July and proceeded to Fort Jackson, near the junction of the Coosa and Tallahoosa Rivers, in the Creek Nation, and arrived at that post (then the Headquarters of the General) on the morning of the 21st of the same month, and reported my arrival to the Commanding General and entered upon the duties assigned me.

The troops stationed at this post at the time of my arrival were the 3rd Regiment United States Infantry, commanded by Major J. Woodruff, said to consist of about five hundred in number, officers included.

From the above date to the 9th of August, inclusive, the Commanding General was engaged, principally, in carrying into effect the object of his mission to that place, which was understood to be the effecting of a capitulation with the war party of the Creek Nation, and obtaining from that Nation an adequate indemnity in lands to discharge the expense of the campaigns they had placed the General Government under the necessity of sending against them, to repel hostility commenced, on their part, without provocation against the citizens of the United States. This object was effected and the capitulation signed and ex-

changed, on the said 9th day of August, 1814, and forwarded to the War Department two days after the date aforesaid.

About this time Colonel Pipkin arrived at that post with part of his Regiment of West Tennessee, drafted militia, as previously ordered, accompanied by one company of the 44th United States Infantry, commanded by Captain Isaac L. Baker. On the arrival of this reinforcement to take charge of the said post, the Commanding General caused preparations to be made for descending the Coosa and Alabama Rivers, to Mobile, with the regular forces then at Fort Jackson and on the 11th day of the same month embarked on board of the same boats in which the 3rd Regiment had, shortly before, ascended from Fort Claibourne, leaving Colonel Pipkin in command of Fort Jackson and Fort Decatur, 25 miles above, on the Tallapoosa River; to which place one company of said militia had previously been sent, to relieve the North Carolina militia then at that post, whose time of service had nearly expired.

AUGUST 11, 1814

The Commanding General and suite having embarked on board of one of the boats, I was directed to accompany him and in the descent to ascertain the courses and distances of the Alabama River from the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, as well as I could under such circumstances. The boats commenced their descent at 1 o'clock P. M. and on their arrival at the junction of said rivers I commenced the execution of the duties assigned me. The result is as follows, viz.: From the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers run:

S. 25° W. 40 chains.	
S. 45° W. 40 chains.	Received a creek from the left at this distance and find the lands good on both sides.
S. 10° W. 40 chains.	On the left is a rich bend, formed, in part, by the Tallapoosa, which includes several small Indian Improvements. or plantations. The river is low, level and rich on both sides. The river shoally from the junction to this place. Passed to the right of an island.

N. 55° W. 40 chains.	A bluff and plantation on the left.
N. 30° W. 1 mile.	To the upper end of a high bluff on the right—lands low and rich on both sides to this place. Improvements on the right.
West 30 chains.	Bluff continued on the right—low and rich on the left. A spring on the right at the end of this distance.
S. 25° W. 20 chains.	The Coosa-and-a town formerly stood on a bluff on the right at this place. It was burned in April last by a party commanded by Lieut. Colonel Gibson of the West Tennessee Volunteers. Lands on the left low and rich.
S. 30° E. 1 mile.	Rich lands and fields on the right, below the Coosanda Town, and level, rich lands on the left. A small creek from the left, at 60 chains, supposed to be Weatherford's Creek.
S. 10° W. 2 miles.	Lands lower on the left than on the right but good onb oth sides. Passed to the left of a large island.
S. 55° W. 40 chains.	Lands low and rich on both sides.
S. 45° E. 20 chains.	Shoal water for these distances. Good lands continued on both sides.
S. 80° E. 20 chains.	
S. 35° E. 40 chains.	To a bluff on the right. Lands appear good on both sides to this place. At 20 chains received a small creek from the left.
S. 25° E. 30 chains.	Lands low and rich on both sides.
S. 20° W. 30 chains.	To the upper end of a red bluff on the left. Lands goods on both sides. Piney on the bluff.
West 20 chains.	Bluff continues on the left.
N. 25° W. 30 chains.	good on both sides. Passed to the left of a right.
N. 65° W. 1 mile.	Good lands on both sides.
	Encamped on the left bank at 10½ miles from the junction and 17 miles below Fort Jackson.

AUGUST 12

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M.

N. 60° W. 20 ch.	Lands high and good on both sides.
N. 80° W. 30 ch.	To a bluff on the right. Good lands on both sides—best on the left.
S. 55° W. 20 chins.	Along the bluff on the right composed of rocky banks, and pine land. Good lands on the left. A small creek from the left near the end of this distance.
S. 10° E. 40 chains.	Along the bluff on the right. Good and high lands on the left. The bluff ends at this distance.

S. 60° E. 40 chains.	A small branch from the left, at the commencement, and good lands on both sides.
S. 45° E. 3 m. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Passed to the left of an island from 2½ to 3 miles. A large improvement on the right, opposite the island. Some improvements also on the left. This course ends at the upper end of a high bluff on the left, on which formerly stood the Tow-wassa Town, burned by Major Peacock of the 39th Infantry, in April last. This is called Weatherford's bluff, and by some the red bluff. The improvements on the right are very extensive and reach along the river upwards of 2 miles above and below this point.
South 20 ch.	Along the bluff. This bluff has high, red banks, from whence the Indians give it the name of the red lands, or Ecenchanda. It is not a red land but more properly a red bluff, as the whites name it. However, it is not so proper a distinction as that given to one many miles below. Improvements continue on the right. A spring on the right at the commencement.
S. 80° W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff. This bluff is 100 feet high its whole distance, nearly.
N. 45° W. 40 ch.	The bluff continues on the left, and the banks show that they contain considerable quantities of yellow ochre—fields on the right. The whole is very rich land on the right, and contains old Weatherford's old place of residence near the end of this distance.
N. 70° W. 3 miles.	Passed to the right of an island at from 40 to 60 chains. A spring branch from the right at 20 chains above the island. Passed the lower end of the Tow-wassa Town or Village at 1 mile. Here ends the bluff at the end of this mile. Passed three other islands, one of which is high and timbered. Islands nearly complete the whole of this course and distance. Good lands to the left the last 40 chains. The lands above, on the bluff, are open handsome farming lands but not very rich. The lands on the right, good the whole distance.
N. 45° W. 20 ch.	Improvements on the right end at 10 chains. A bluff commences on the right and ends at a short distance. Good lands on the left.

N. 80° W. 60 ch.	Passed to the right of a small island. Good lands on both sides. Improvements on the right.
North 60 ch.	Passed to the right of two small islands at 20 chains. Large improvements on the right. Lands rather thin on both sides for part of this distance.
N. 25° W. 40 ch.	Lands good on both sides. Improvements continue on the right.
N. 15° W. 40 ch.	A branch from the right at 15 chains, where the improvements end. Lands continue good on both sides.
N. 80° W. 20 ch.	A spring from the right.
S. 70° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the left of an island. A large improvement opposite, on the right, and rich lands on the left. A bluff on the left for half the distance.
West 30 ch.	To a bluff on the right, a small distance below the last improvement. A branch from the right, at the lower end of the same improvement.
S. 25° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	A short bluff and rocky shore on the right. This course ends at a bluff on the left and rich, good land on the right.
S. 50° W. 30 ch.	A bluff of thin land on the left. Improvement on the right.
S. 70° W. 40 ch.	Bluff continued on the left. A creek from the right at 15 chains. Land lowest on the right.
S. 55° W. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Lands good on both sides.
S. 80° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	Passed to the left of an island. Good lands continued on both sides.
N. 60° W. 20 ch.	A rocky bluff on the left. Good on the right.
N. 65° W. 20 ch.	To a bluff on the right at half distance, commencing with 2 high conical hills with a narrow valley and spring branch between—the lower cone composed of a substance resembling the red paint used by the natives. On this bluff is the old Indian town of Antanga. A creek from the right, above the bluff, appears handsome. Name not known.
S. 60° W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff. Improvements on rich land to the left. Antanga is a beautiful situation, overlooking fine, rich lands on the left, or opposite side.
South 1 mile.	Passed to the left of an island. A valuable plantation on the left side and a large one on

	the right, the one opposite and the other below the town of Antanga.
S. 10° E. 1 mile.	A bluff to the left the last 20 chains and an improvement.
S. 30° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the left of an island. Passed the mouth of Cuttooma Creek from the left at 20 chains. The lands between Weatherford's Bluff and this creek are represented to be very good to its junction with the Coosa River, both on and off from the river.
S. 65° W. 30 ch.	To an improvement on a bluff to the right. Lands good on both sides.
S. 60° 40 ch. South 20 chains.	Passed 2 good springs on the right.
S. 5° E. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Leaving a large island containing at least 100 acres to the right. An improvement on the island.
S. 10° W. 40 ch.	To an improvement and low bluff on the left, opposite the lower end of the island.
S. 70° 4 mi. 40 ch.	Passed Puth-lau-la Creek from the left at 20 chains and passed to the right of an island opposite the mouth of said creek. Passed to the right of 2 small islands at 1 mile, below which are large improvements on the left. Lands good on both sides.
N. 65° W. 20 ch.	William Weatherford's plantation is on the right, on an excellent tract of land. Hatchasoof-ka, or Steep Creek, empties into the river at 10 chains from the left. This creek is sometimes called Tallawassa by the natives.
	Along a high bluff of pine lands and rocky shore to the right. Good lands on the left.
N. 30° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	Passed to the right of an island. Improvements continuing on the right. Lands thin on the left. Improvement on the left opposite an island. Spring on the right. Passed another fair spring on the right at 80 chains.
West 1 mile.	Passed 3 fine springs to the right at 20 chains. Lands rich on the left and thin on the right. Rocky on the left bank at the end of this distance.
N. 65° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the right of an island at 20 to 40 chains.
S. 80° W. 40 ch.	A high, handsome, pine bluff on the right. Rich lands on the left. On this bluff there has formerly been a town.

S. 30° W. 40 ch.	To the end of the bluff. A spring branch at the commencement.
S. 20° W. 30 ch.	Good lands on both sides.
N. 60° W. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Passed to the right of an island. A rocky bluff on the left 20 chains above the upper end of the islands. The lower end of the island is timbered and improved. It is 60 chains long. A shoal below.
N. 25° W. 20 ch.	Along a bluff to the left and field to the right.
N. 10° E. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Passed to the right of an island. An improvement on the left. A bluff on the right at the end of this distance.
North 20 ch.	And encamped on the right bank, at the lower end of the bluff, at the distance this day of 43 miles.

AUGUST 13

Proceeded at half past 5 o'clock, P. M.

N. 40° W. 20 ch.	Improvement on the left.
N. 80° W. 20 ch.	A bluff on the right and 2 springs.
S. 45° W. 30 ch.	Bluff continued on the right. A large improvement on the left in very rich land.
S. 65 W. 30 ch.	Improvement on the right. Spring on the left, at the end of this distance.
West 1 mile.	Passed an island to the right. A creek from the right at 20 chains.
S. 60° W. 40 ch.	Passed to the right of an island and a spring opposite.
S. 10° W. 40 ch.	Passed to the right of an island improved.
S. 30° E. 20 ch.	Continued along the improved island.
S. 10° E. 30 ch.	Lands good on both sides.
S. 30° W. 40 ch.	Improvement on the right.
S. 35° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	A branch from the left at 20 chains. Low, flat bottom land on the right. Something higher and rich on the left. A branch from the right at 40 chains. Another from the left at 1 mile.
S. 60° W. 10 ch.	To a bluff on the left with rocky banks. The river only 80 yds. wide here. It is generally from 150 to 200 yds. wide above.
N. 80° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	Passed along the bluff 20 chains to an island and through the channel on the right. Lands high on the left. Rich bottom on the right and a spring opposite the lower end of the island.
S. 70° W. 20 ch.	To Chuc-sa-be-ku, or the *Holy Ground,* on a bluff on the left about 40 chains long. It is a high bluff of level hickory, oak and pine land

	of tolerable quality, a part of which has been cleared and cultivated; another part cleared but not cultivated. This place was used for the revels of the War party. On the opposite side the lands are exceedingly rich and contain a fine, large field for cultivation. A-mo-ka-ti-jah, one of the prophets, was killed at this place in the attack made on it by General Claibourne and Colonel G. Russel. This prophet lived at this place where himself and Josiah Frances, called by the natives Hilluhajab (The Mad-Physician) collected, through their influence and prophesies, the party destined for the destruction of Fort Mimms. They were placed under the command of William Weatherford, a half-breed, nephew to Alexander McGilvery,[1] and other chiefs. The issue of this event is well known.
N. 20° W. 20 ch.[2]	
N. 30° W. 60 ch.	A spring on the left at 20 chains.
North 60 ch.	A fine spring on the left near the commencement, and a handsome bluff. Fine rich lands opposite. Passed to the right of an island.
N. 5° E. 40 ch.	The bluff continues and thin land on the left, the whole distance. Lands rich on the right. An improvement on the right near the end.
N. 45° W. 20 ch.	The bluff ends on the left and commences on the right. High and piney, rich lands on the left.
West 20 ch.	Bluff continued on the right. A spring branch from the right and rich lands on the left.
S. 30 W. 1 mile	Along the bluff (say 150 feet high). Passed to the left of an island at 40 chains. Fine rich lands on the left. A small creek from the right at the end of the bluff, above the island. Fine rich lands below the creek. Rich, high land on the left, opposite the island.
S. 50° W. 60 ch.	Passed to the left of an island at 20 chains. Rich lands on both sides. A low bluff on the left and the lands higher and more thin than those on the right.

[1] Alexander McGillivray, powerful half-breed Creek Chieftain, who directed the affairs of his people for several years before his death, in 1793. Tatum consistently misspells his name. General Claibornes' victory was won December 23, 1813.

[2] No discription appears in the text opposite this entry.

N. 80° W. 1 mi. 60 ch.	A field to the right on rich lands. Good lands on the left. Passed to the left of an island.
N. 65° W. 30 ch.	Rich lands on both sides to the upper end of a bluff on the right.
S. 45° W. 30 ch.	Along the bluff on the right.
South 30 ch.	Bluff continues on the right. Rich farming lands on the left. A small creek from the right at 10 chains. The bluff ends at the creek. Good lands below.
S. 10 E. 60 ch.	A bluff on the right for a short distance, which recedes from the river and leaves a small strip of good lands on the margin. Very rich on the left.
S. 30 W. 30 ch.	Rich lands on both sides.
S. 20° E. 20 ch.	The same quality continued.
S. 30° E. 1 mile.	High lands on the right of pine, oak and hickory growth. Rich bottom on the left. Good lands commence on the right at 30 chains and continue.
S. 20° E. 1 mile.	Good lands on both sides the whole distance.
S. 10° W. 40 ch.	Lands continue good on both sides.
S. 30° W. 2 mi. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides, continue the whole of this distance. A field on the right at the lower end.
S. 50° W. 40 ch.	The field on the right continues.
S. 70° W. 20 ch.	
West 20 ch.	Another improvement on the right.
N. 80° W. ch.	Improvement on the right continued.
N. 65° W. 40 ch.	Passed the mouth of Pel-loop-loi-co, or Big Swamp Creek, from the left at 20 chains. Improvement continued on the right.
N. 30° W. 40 ch.	Improvement continued on the right. Good lands on both sides to this point. The improvement on the right is at Wau-be-gus-ku old town. A creek from the left 1 mile below Big Swamp Creek and 20 chains below this distance. Lands thin on the left near the end. A small branch from the right.
N. 10° W. 1 mile.	Passed the above creek from the left at 20 chains. Improvement on the right still continues. Passed to the right of an island at 40 chains. The improvement on the right ceased at the upper end of the island at the distance of 3 miles and 20 chains from its commencement. Good lands on both sides, the whole of the last course and distance.

N. 10° E. 20 ch.	Improvment on the right. Lands high on the left with pine.
N. 35° E. 20 ch.	A bluff on the left. Improvement continued on the right. The bluff rocky and growth of pine, oak and hickory.
N. 40° E. 40 ch.	Bluff on the left continued 20 chains. Good lands from thence, on both sides. A fine spring on the right bank at the end.
North 30 ch.	Chiefly along a bluff to the right. Good lands to the left. A branch from the right near the end. Here the bluff ends.
N. 30° W. 1 mile.	Corn field on the left.
N. 40° W. 40 ch.	A creek or branch from the right. Passed a small island.
N. 5° W. 50 ch.	To the lower end of a sand bank on the right. Passed a creek from the right. Corn field on the left. Indian sign was discovered at this field, supposed to be some of the War party who had not surrendered.
	Encamped on the sand bank for the night at 29 miles and 40 chains.

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M. AUGUST 14

N. 30. W. 20 ch.	
N. 40° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the right of an island.
N. 45° W. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Passed to the left of a large island.
N. 15° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the left of an island. Bluff to the left, opposite the island. Lands good on both sides, the whole above 4 distances, to the distance of 40 chains above the termination of the last; from thence to the end is a rocky bank along the bluff.
North 40 ch.	Improvements on both sides. An old improvement of Durants, called Pitth-to-hav-loth-cau, on the right. It is a large improvement and extends the whole length of next distance, as well as a part of this. Lands here are rich on both sides.
N. 40° E. 40 ch.	The field and improvement continued as above stated.
N. 60° E. 40 ch.	
N. 75° E. 1 mile	Passed to the left of an island. Improvement on the right. Shoal water at the lower end of this distance.
N. 40 E. 20 ch.	A bluff and spring on the right. Good bottom on the left.

N. 45 W. 20 ch.	To the head of an island. Bluff continued.
N. 80° W. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Passed to the right of the island. Bluff continued on the right and ended opposite the island. Good lands on the left, to the lower end of said island, and then good on both sides. Shoal water the greater part of this distance.
N. 55° W. 40 ch.	To a high red bluff on the right. Lands good on both sides. A handsome creek from the right 10 chains above the termination of this distance.
S. 80° W. 20 ch.	Bluff continued on the right.
S. 25° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the left of a large island. An improvement on the left, opposite the island. Passed 2 other islands. An improvement on the left at the end of this distance. A cypress pond on the right.
S. 60° E. 1 mile.	Rich lands on both sides.
S. 25° E. 30 ch.	A handsome bluff on the left which contains a Mrs. Durant's old place. Low bottom on the right.
S. 35° W. 30 ch.	The bluff and open lands continued on the left. Bottom lands on the right.
S. 75° W. 1 mile	Bluff and open woods continued on the left. Bottom on the right.
S. 70° W. 20 ch.	To the upper end of a bluff on the right. Bottom lands on the left.
S. 30° W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff. Bottom continues on the left. A good spring in the bluff at 10 chains.
South 20 ch.	Along the bluff. Bottom continued on the left.
S. 30 E. 1 mi. 40 ch.	A fine spring on the right in the bluff. Rich bottom on the left. The bluff on the right ends at 20 chains and bottom commences on the same side.
South 30 ch.	To a bluff on the left. Bottom continues on both sides to the bluff.
S. 30 W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff, which contains open, thin, pine lands. Bottom on the right.
S. 60° W. 30 ch.	Bluff continued on the left and bottom on the right. The bluff ends here and good lands succeed on both sides.
S. 45° W. 3 miles.	Passed to the right of an island. Rich lands on both sides the whole distance. A creek from the left at 2 miles 60 chains. A field of corn to the right, opposite the creek.

S. 65° W. 2 miles.	Appearance of rich lands on both sides. Three springs on the right, at different distances. Pine lands on the left the last 40 chains.
West 20 ch.	High pine lands on the left and rich on the right.
N. 70° 30 ch.	Pine hill continued on the left and rich lands on the right.
N. 45° W. 1 mile.	Pine lands continued on the left 20 chains. A spring branch from the right at 40 chains. Good lands on both sides. Bottom ends on the right at 60 chains and a handsome bluff of open lands and rocky banks commence.
N. 85° W. 1 mile.	Bluff continued on the right and rich lands on the left. The bluff on the right ends at 20 chains and good lands succeed. A small spring at the end of the bluff. High, rich lands commence on the left at 40 chains.
N. 75° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	Passed to the left of an island at 60 chains. Good, high lands on the left. Rich bottom on the right. A branch from the left. Improvement on the right, below the island.
N. 50° W. 1 mile.	A high, open, pine bluff on the left. Improvement continued on the right and rich bottom. Passed to the left of an island at from 20 to 40 chains. Rich lands on the left, from the upper end of the island. A spring on the right, opposite the lower end of the island.
N. 30° W. 60 ch.	The river shoally. Improvement on the right. A pine bluff on left containing rocky banks and several springs. Good lands opposite, and also below a sand beach on the left. Rich lands on the right and a spring. A handsome bold running creek, a branch, opposite the lower end of the beach, at an improvement on the right. High lands, mixed with pine growth, at the end of this distance.
N. 65° W. 30 ch.	To a bluff on the right containing thin lands. Rich lands on the left.
S. 65° W. 40 ch.	Along the bluff. Rich lands on the left.
S. 35° W. 2 mi. 40 ch.	Passed to the left of an island. Improvement and corn field on the right, at the mouth of a creek. Another creek on the left. Good lands on both sides.
S. 70° W. 2 miles.	Good lands continue on the right. Thin, high lands and rocky banks on the left. Good on the left at 1 mile. Passed to the right of a small island.

S. 65° W. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides.
S. 30° W. 40 ch.	High, good lands and rocky shore, to the right, and rich bottom on the left.
South 20 ch.	To a bluff of pine lands and rocky shore on the right. Rich on the left. A bad shoal in the river. The best channel is on the right. The bluff extends 20 chains on next course and ends.
S. 40° E. 1 mile.	Passed to the left of an island. Rocky banks and good, high lands on the left. Bottom on the right.
S. 60° E. 30 ch.	Good lands on both sides.
S. 70° E. 30 ch.	A handsome bluff of tolerably good land and a smooth rock bank on the right. Rich bottom on the left. The bluff continues the whole of this distance.
N. 50° E. 30 ch.	Bluff continued on the right. Bottom and corn field on the left.
North 1 mile.	Bluff continued on the right. A small creek and good lands on the left.
N. 45° E. 10 ch.	To a bluff of rock on the left.
East 10 ch.	Along the bluff. Bottom on the right.
S. 30° E. 1 mile.	The bluff continued on the left and bottom on the right. Bluff ends at 40 chains on this course, and good lands succeed.
S. 45° E. 3 miles.	Good lands on both sides. Passed to the left of an island at 40 chains Corn field on the right. A bad shoal at 1 mile 40 chains.
S. 30° E. 1 mile.	Good lands on both sides. Improvement on the right at 20 chains, which continued the balance of this distance. A small creek from the left near the termination of the distance.
South 10 ch.	Along a rocky bluff on the left. Improvement on the right continued.
S. 40° W. 10 ch.	Bluff continued on the left. Rich lands and improvement continued on the right.
S. 70° W. 10 ch.	Rocky bluff continued on the left. Good lands and improvement continued on the right. Thin lands on the bluff.
West 20 ch.	Appearance the same as above. Improvement on the right continued.
N. 65° W. 3 miles.	Lands thin on the left for 1 mile, then good on both sides. Best on the right. Improvement on the right ends at 20 chains on this course.
S. 80° 1 mi. 40 ch.	Passed immediately to the left of an island. A fair spring to the left, opposite the head

	of the island. Rocky banks on the left and rich lands on both sides.
S. 60° W. 1 mile.	Good lands on both sides. A bluff rises on the right at 40 chains. Lands thinner on that side.
S. 40° W. 1 mi. 40 ch.	The bluff ends and good lands on both sides continue. Highest on the right. The Cau-hau-ha river enters from the right at the termination of this distance. The lands are excellent above.
S. 5° W. 60 ch.	Good lands on the right for 20 chains, to a bluff which continues the balance of this distance, on the right. Rich bottom on the left.
S. 10° E. 1 mi. 40 ch.	Tolerably good, high, bluff lands on the right. Rich bottom on the left A rocky bluff of good lands commences on the right near the end of this distance, above which is a piece of rich land.
S. 45° E. 1 mile.	A bluff of rock, with good lands on its summit for 20 chains, where the rock ends at a sand beach on the right (the same side) where the bottom commences on that side. Rich, bottom lands on the left, nearly to the end of this course and distance, when high lands commence and a bluff. A spring on the bluff, near the end. Another spring at the end A branch from the left.
	Encamped on the left at 51 miles 60 chains.

AUGUST 15

Proceeded at 5 o'clock, A. M.

South 1 mile.	Good lands on both sides.
S. 45° W. 30 ch.	Good on both sides. Rocky shore on the left.
S. 75° W. 40 ch.	A rocky shore on the left of good high lands. Bottom on the right.
West 60 ch.	Passed an island to the left and a fine spring on the left shore near the head of the island, at which place the rocky shore ends. Lands good on both sides.
S. 75° W. 1 mile.	Good lands on both sides. A rocky shore commences on the left, near the end.
N. 75° W. 30 ch.	Along a rocky shore and high lands on the left. Bottom on the right.
N. 50° W. 1 mile.	Passed to the right of an island. Good lands on both sides.

N. 75° W. 60 ch.	To the upper end of a poor, rocky bluff on the right covered with pine. Good on both sides to this bluff. A small creek from the right, above the bluff.
S. 50° W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff. Bottom lands on the left. This bluff is a white rock 100 feet high. The river not more than 80 yards wide at this place.
S. 10° W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff on the right to the head of an island.
S. 10° E. 1 mile.	Passed to the head of the island. A creek breaks through the bluff, near the lower end thereof. The bluff continued about 10 chains below the creek, from whence the lands on the right are lower and better. Bottom continued on the left.
S. 25° E. 1 mi. 20 ch.	Passed a short bluff on the left at 60 chains. Good lands on both sides. Rocky on the left bank, the last 20 chains.
S. 20° E. 30 ch.	To the upper end of a high bluff on the right. Good lands on both sides.
S. 60° E. 1 mile.	Passed to the left of an island, where the bluff on the right ends. Bottom lands on the left. Good, high lands on the right, from the upper end of the island to this place.
S. 75° E. 1 mile.	Lands good on both sides. A rocky bank on the right, the last 20 chains.
East 1 mi. 40 ch.	Rocky banks continued on the right for 20 chains. Passed to the left of an island. A branch from the right runs through the bluff at 20 chains above the island. Good lands on both sides. A spring to the left, opposite the island. Rocky banks and rich land on the left. A large creek from the left, at the end of this distance.
S. 55° E. 1 mile.	A rocky bluff on the left, of high, good lands. Bottom on the right. Passed to the right of an island.
S. 25° E. 1 mile.	Passed to the right of another island. Lands good on both sides. A large field of fine corn on the right near the end of this distance. Landed on the right, destroyed the field and the troops took as much of the green corn as they thought proper.

This large field lies opposite to an encampment on the right bank, on a high bluff of poor pine land. This encampment was formed and occupied by Colonel Pearson and his com-

mand of North Carolina Militia, in May or June last. The above field is of considerable extent, as will be seen by the subsequent notes, and is situated on a valuable breast of land on the right hand shore, in a bend, opposite the said encampment. The field commences about 20 chains above the place landed at, and continues as shown.

The encampment is on a handsome situation which overlooks the whole extent of the bottom which is large.

South 30 ch. — The above bluff on the left and field on the right continued. Passed the encampment at 10 chains.

S. 25° W. 40 ch. — The bluff lowers on the left. Field continued on the right. A dry creek from the left at the end of the bluff. The bluff commences again near the end of this distance. The field ends at 15 chains.

S. 60° 1 mi. 20 ch. — Bluff continues on the left 20 chains. A branch from the right at 60 chains. Bottom on both sides below the bluff, and the whole distance on the right, and very rich.

S. 45° W. 1 mi. 60 ch. — Good lands on both sides. A small creek from the left at 40 chains. Bluff lands on the left at 60 chains with rocky banks. The bluff is low. Bottom lands on the right. A spring on the right, opposite the lower end of the bluff.

S. 70° W. 2 miles. — Rocky bluff banks on the left and low, for 60 chains to the head of an island, which was passed to the left. A bottom and spring on the right, 10 chains above the island. Lands rich and cainey [*sic*] bottom on the left, from the uper [*sic*] end of the island, and opposite the spring on the right. Rocky banks on the right, the last 20 chains. Lands high and rich over those banks.

S. 60° W. 40 ch. — To the uper [*sic*] end of a rocky bluff, on the left. A handsome creek from the end of this distance.

N. 70° W, 1 mi. 20 ch. — A bluff, 40 feet high, of thinly timbered land on the left. Bottom on the right.

N. 45° W. 1 mile. — The same bluff continues on the left and bottom on the right for 20 chains. Good lands from thence the whole distance, on both sides.

	A small spring on the right, opposite the lower end of the bluff.
West 30 ch.	Along a handsome bluff to the right. A fine spring in the bluff at 15 chains. Bottom lands on the left.
S. 45° W. 1 mi. 60 ch.	The bluff continued on the right and bottom on the left. Passed to the right of an island at 40 chains. Shoal water below the island. The left shore the best passage. The bluff ends at 40 chains. Excellent lands below on the right. A rocky, low bluff commences on the left at 1 m. 20 ch. The lands rich on this bluff. A branch from the left, near the end of this distance.
S. 75° W. 40 ch.	The bluff continued on the left and bottom on the right. Pine lands on the bluff at the end of this distance. A spring branch from the right at 10 chains.
N. 75° W. 2 m. 10 ch.	The bluff continues on the left and bottom on the right. The bluff is high, but appears to be good land intermixed with pine growth. A large creek from the right 5 chains above the end of this course and distance. A bluff commences at the creek and extends down the river on the right. This creek is erroneously placed on the left in the map, and could not well be altered without disfiguring it more than could be wished.
S. 80° W. 20 ch.	Along a handsome bluff on the right. Bottom on the left.
S. 50° W. 60 ch.	A spring near the commencement, on the right. The bluff continues on the right and bottom on the left. Passed to the right of an island at from 20 to 40 chains. The bluff high and piney at the end of this distance. For the last half mile it has been low and rich. A spring on the right, 10 chains above the end of this distance.
South 1 m. 20 ch.	High, pine lands on the right. Rich bottom on the left. The pine hill recedes from the river at 40 chains and leaves a narrow margin of bottom land, which widens in its descent and appears to extend across a bend on the right at the distance of 20 chains above the lower end of this distance.

S. 10° E. 30 ch.	Bottom on both sides. A creek on the right at the commencement.
S. 15° W. 40 ch.	Bottom on the right. High lands on the left mixed with pine, but appears good. The pine continues only this distance.
S. 30° W. 2 m. 40 ch.	Good, high lands on the left. Bottom on the right. A handsome creek from the left at 1 m. 40 ch. Pine lands near the river at 2 miles. A branch from the right at 1 m. 60 ch. A spring on the right, 15 chains above the end of this distance.
S. 5° E. 30 ch.	High, pine lands on the right. Bottom on the left.
S. 20° E. 30 ch.	Pine lands continued on the right, and bottom on the left. A small creek from the right.
S. 45° E. 40 ch.	Pine lands continued on the right and bottom on the left. A creek from the right at 20 chains. Lands better on right below the creek.
S. 55° E. 2 m. 40 ch.	High lands continue on the right and bottom on the left. The high lands descend to a rich bottom at 20 chains. Passed to the left of an island. A large improvement and corn field on the right.
	At the termination of this distance an elegant red bluff commences, and extends a considerable distance down the river on the left side. It is very level on the summit and is believed to contain from 100 to 150 acres of cleared land and appears to be the site of some old town or village. It is the handsomest situation for a town of any to be found on the river, and is situated in the centre of an exceedingly rich body of lands lying above and below, on this river, and possessing also the advantage of a good boat navigation to and from Mobile. The lands on this bluff are pretty good, but thinly timbered. This site lies a few miles north of the 32° of North Latitude, in an excellent climate. No doubt can be entertained of the healthiness of this situation. It possesses the advantage of a handsome view of the river, above and below, as well as that of overlooking a large bottom of rich lands on the opposite, or right, side of the river.
South 1 m. 40 ch.	Continued the whole of this distance along the before-named Red Bluff. Passed to the

	right of an island from 1 m. 20 ch. to the end of the distance. Several springs at the end. A superb bottom on the right.
S. 10° W. 30 ch.	Lands high and rich on both sides.
S. 45° W. 2 m. 40 ch.	Lands high and rich on both sides, mixed with scattering pines on the right.
S. 40° W. 1 m. 20 ch.	Lands on both sides high and rich, mixed with a scattering pine growth. A spring to the right at 30 chains.
S. 60° W. 40 ch.	Rich lands on both sides.
West 1 mile.	Rich, high lands on both sides. A spring branch from the left at 40 chains and another on the same side at 60 chains.
N. 65° W. 1 m. 20 ch.	Lands more piney, but still good, on the left Excellent, rich lands on the right. A fine spring branch, or creek, on the left at the end of this distance.
	Encamped on the left bank on a superb tract of land, at 46 m. 40 ch.

AUGUST 16.

Proceeded at 20 m. after 5 o'clock A.M.

N. 45° W. 3 miles.	Excellent lands on both sides. A small creek from the left at 1 m. 60. ch. Another creek from the right at the end of this distance.
North 1 mile.	A low, rocky bluff of good land on the left and rich lands on the right. Passed an island at 40 chains. A spring branch from the left at 20 chains.
N. 10° E. 2 miles.	The bluff ends on the left and good lands on both sides continue. Shoal water at 40 chains. Another shoal at 1 m. 40 ch. to 2 miles, the left shore the deepest. A spring on the right near the end.
N. 20° W. 40 ch.	High, pine lands on the right 40 chains from the river. Margin good. Rich lands on the left.
N. 35° W. 40 ch.	On the right lands continue the same as above. Rich lands continued on the left. A spring on the right near the end of this distance.
N. 55° W. 40 ch.	Lands on the right continue as above. Rich bottom on the left.
N. 85° W. 1 m. 20 ch.	Lands continue the same on the right, the pine lands receding from the river. 2 springs on the right, near the commencement. Good lands on the left, and also on both sides the last 30 chains.

N. 85° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	Same course continued. Passed to the left of an island at 60 chains. Rocky banks on the left, opposite the island. Rich lands on both sides. A small creek from the right, near the end.
S. 65° W. 40 ch.	High, pine lands on the right for 30 chains, after which they are better. Good bottom on the left.
S. 35° W. 20 ch.	Along a handsome, low bluff on the right, with rizing [*sic*] ground 100 yds. back from the river. Rich, high bottom on the left.
S. 10° W. 1 mile.	Bluff continues on the right, with breaks of lower land the whole distance and covered with pine, back from the river. Excellent rich land on the left.
S. 15° E. 1 m. 40 ch.	Bluff and high lands continued on the right. Good, high lands on the left. A good spring on the left at 20 chains, on the river bank. Good improvements on the same side, below the spring. The growth pine and other timber. A good creek from the right at 1 mile.
South 2 miles.	Rich bottom on the right and very good lands on the left. Bottom commences on the left at 40 chains, which lies high for the distance of 40 chains when it descends to lower land. Low and rich bottom on the right at 1 mile and continues the balance of this distance. A branch from the left at 1 m. 40 chains.
S. 10° E. 2 m. 40 ch.	Lands high and rich on the right, and low bottom on the left. A spring on the right near the beginning [*sic*]. Lands on the left rise higher in descending the river and continue as good.
S. 5° W. 1 mile.	Rich lands of tolerable height on the left. Rich bottom on the right.
S. 15° W. 60 ch.	Lands rich on both sides. Bottom lowest on the right. A creek from the left.
S. 35° W. 40 ch.	Prime lands on both sides.
S. 60° W. 20 ch.	Excellent lands on both sides. Rocky shore and high lands at 10 chains. Spring on the left.
N. 80° W. 60 ch.	High lands on the left, of indifferent quality, mixed with pine and a rocky shore. Rich bottom on the right. Lands on the left, lower and rich the last 30 chains.
S. 60° W. 40 ch.	Rocky shore on the right, a part of this distanc. Good lands on both sides.

S. 35° W. 60 ch.	Good lands on both sides, high on the left for half distance and mixed with pine and other growth. A branch from the right at 40 chains.
S. 55° W. 1 m. 20 ch.	High, rich lands on the left. Bottom low on the right for 50 chains, after which it is higher and contains a mixture of pine. It is, apparently, [*sic*] good farming land. A bluff on the right, near the end of this distance.
S. 15° W. 1 mile.	Along a rocky bluff on the right, covered with pine. Lands on the left rich and fine.
S. 20° E. 1 mile.	Bluff on the right continues 20 chains and good lands the balance of the distance. Rich bottom continued on the left. Passed to the left of an island from 30 chains nearly to the end of this distance. A large creek from the right, opposite the uper [*sic*] end of the island. This island is high, and is timbered near the lower end.
S. 25° E. 1 m. 20 ch.	Good lands on both sides. A narrow channel to the left of a shoal that extends from the lower end of the above island. Lands on the right apper [*sic*] high, a small distance from the river, containing a mixture of pine growth. A rocky bluff on the right the last 20 chains.
S. 50° E. 1 m. 20 ch.	Bluff continued on the right and bottom on the left. The lands to the right are lower the last half of this distance. An improvement on the left.
S. 85° E. 20 ch.	A bluff on the right and bottom on the left.
N. 85° E. 1 m. 60 ch.	Bluff continued on the right. Passed an island from 30 to 50 chains. Bluff ends 20 chains and good lands commence. Prime lands on the left.
S. 80° E. 1 mile.	Prime lands on both sides. A fine spring on the right at 60 chains. Rocky banks on ye right.
East 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. The lands on the left, immediately above this, appear to be one entire large bend, containing from 20 to 30,000 acres, the greater part (if not the whole) of which, from every appearance, may be said to be a body of prime lands, equal to any, of the same extent, in the United States, or in the known world.

S. 70° E. 1 m. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Best on the right. Bottom high on the left. A spring branch from the left at 20 chains. The bottom on the left extends from 100 to 120 yards back from the river to the high lands before named. Passed to the right of an island at about 1 mile. An old improvement on the right, opposite the island.
South 1 m. 40 ch.	Improvement continues on the right. A bluff of rock on the left containing high lands mixed with pine growth. Bottom on the right. Passed to the right of an island which commences at half, and continues nearly the whole of the balance of this distance. Good lands to the left the last 50 chains. The bluff continued with good lands.
S. 35° W. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. A rocky bluff on the right near the end. Lands descend to a good bottom on the left.
South 40 ch.	A rocky bluff and good lands continued on the right and bottom on the left. A prime spring, or creek, in the bluff on the right, near the end of this distance.
S. 35° E. 60 ch.	Bluff and good lands continued on the right and bottom on the left. Lands thin on the right the last 40 chains.
S. 70° E. 2 miles.	A bluff of thin pine lands continued on the right, affording a handsome situation, but poor. Rich lands on the left. A fine spring on the left, 300 yards above the end of this course.
S. 30° E. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Rocky banks continued on the left. A large creek from the left.
S. 5° W. 20 ch.	The lands on the left high, below the creek. Rich on the right.
S. 40° W. 20 ch.	To the uper [*sic*] end of a high bluff of poor, pine lands on the left. Rich bottom on the right. A spring branch on the left at the commencement.
S. 65° W. 20 ch.	Along the bluff on the left. Rich bottom on the right. This bluff is about 80 feet high.
West 1 m. 40 ch.	Bluff continued on the left and rich bottom on the right. Passed to the right of an island. 2 springs on the left.

N. 60° W. 1 mile.	A spring on the left at the beginning [*sic*]. Passed to the right of an island. Prime lands on both sides.
N. 30° W. 20 ch.	Good lands on both sides. 3 springs near each other on the right.
N. 70° W. 2 miles.	Good lands on both sides.
N. 55° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Passed to the right of a large island at 40 chains. A handsome bluff of rich lands on the right, opposite the lower end of the island. High, pine bluff on the right for 30 chains near the end of this distance. A spring branch from the right at 60 chains.
N. 80° W. 20 ch.	Pine lands continued on the right and good lands on the left.
S. 85° W. 1 mile.	Pine lands ended on the right, at a branch 20 chains from the commencement. Good lands from thence, on both sides.
S. 35° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides with rocky banks on the right. A branch from the right at 30 chains. A spring branch from the left 40 chains above the end of this distance.
S. 75° W. 1 m. 60 ch.	Lands good on both sides. A spring on the left at 40 chains. A creek from the right at 1 m. 20 ch. 3 springs on the left, opposite the creek. High lands, mixed with pine, on the right, the last 20 chains. A spring at the uper [*sic*] end of the hill on the right.
S. 45° W. 20 ch.	Along a poor, pine bluff on the right with a spring. Good lands on the left.
S. 15° W. 20 ch.	Bluff continued on the right and good lands on the left.
S. 10° E. 1 m. 40 ch.	The bluff ends on the right, and high lands of better quality succeeds [*sic*]. Bottom on the left and a spring at 60 chains. Another spring on the left at 1 m. 20. chains.
S. 20° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	A rocky bank on the left and good lands on both sides. A branch from the right at 1 mile.
S. 5° W. 2 m. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Passed to the right of an island at from 40 to 60 chains. A creek from the right, opposite the lower end of the island. Passed to the right of another island from 1 m. 20 ch. to 1 m. 60 chains. Encamped on the left bank at 58 miles.

AUGUST 17.

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A.M.

S. 10° E. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides.
S. 30° E. 40 ch.	Good lands on the left, and high, pine lands on the right.
S. 75° E. 20 ch.	High lands on the right and bottom on the left.
East 1 m. 20 ch.	High on the right for a short distance and then descends gradually to rich bottom. Good bottom lands on the left.
S. 70° E. 2 miles.	Prime lands on both sides.
S. 50° E. 1 mile.	To a high, handsome red bluff on the right. Good lands on both sides, to the uper [*sic*] end of the bluff. Passed to the right of an island at 20 to 40 chains, a part timbered and rich. Lands high on the right, opposite the timbered part of the island, and a good spring 20 chains above the bluff. Rich lands on the left.
S. 85° E. 4 miles.	Alon [*sic*] the right hand bluff, which contains thin, level land, covered with pine growth and banks 80 feet high. Rich bottom on the left. Good lands commence on the right at 20 chains (where the bluff ends) and continues to the end of this distance. A fine spring on the right at 30 chains. The large bend above this, on the left, contains a superb body of excellent bottom and high lands.
S. 65° E. 40 ch.	The lands on the left rise to a bluff with rocky banks and growth of pine. On the right lies a rich tract of bottom land. A large creek from the left at 20 chains. The bluff increases in height below the creek.
S. 35° E. 30 ch.	A high, broken bluff of uneven land on the left, covered with pine and other growths. Rich bottom on the right. A large creek from the left near the commencement of this course and distance.
South 40 ch.	High, pine lands continued on the left, and rich bottom on the right.
S. 20° W. 2 miles.	Bottom continued on the right. Lands lower on the left end descend gradually to a bottom at about 1 mile. Lands rise on the right at 1 m. 40 ch. and continue high and rich to the end of this distance.
S. 10° W. 2 mi. 10 ch.	Passed to the left of an island at 1 m. 40 ch. 4 springs on the right, near the begining

	[*sic*]. Prime, rich, bottom lands on both sides. A spring branch from the left 30 ch. above the island.
S. 30° W. 20 ch.	A rocky bluff on the left and good bottom on the right.
S. 45° W. 1 m. 20 ch.	Bluff continued on the left and bottom on the right. Good lands on the bluff. 2 springs on the left at 40 ch. and a branch on the right. nearly opposite.
S. 60° W. 1 mile.	Rich, high lands on the left and bottom on the right. Rocky banks on the left, and a branch at 60 chains.
S. 75° W. 1 mile.	To the uper [*sic*] end of a large, timbered island. Bottom lands on both sides. A branch to the right at 60 chains.
S. 85° W. 1 mi. 20 ch.	Passed to the right of the large, timbered island. There is but little water to the left of this island. The main channel is on the right and about 50 yds. wide. A bluff on the left, opposite the island. The whole distance is good lands on both sides. The timbered lands on this island is rich and lies high. A very old, small improvement is discovered on this island.

The aforementioned island has gained some notice from the circumstance of Lt. Col. Benton of the 39th Infantry having discovered, on this island, in May last (when descending from Fort Jackson with a part of that Regiment) a considerable number of Indians, men. women and children, supposed to belong to the war part, under the Chief McQueen, then on their way to Pensacola, and the more extraordinary circumstance of his suffering them to escape by a deception practiced on him, under the pretense of being then on their way to surrender themselves at Fort Claibourne, where the [*sic*] promised to meet him on the next day. Since that time they have not been seen or heard of, except with Captain Woodbine's Collection, rendezvoused at Pensacola.[1] A

[1] Thomas Hart Benton, later a distinguished senator, had recently quarreled with Jackson. This paragraph reflects Tatum's sympathy with Jackson in that affair. During the New Orleans campaign Benton was kept on the frontier service northeast of Mobile. Captain George Woodbine, of the Britsh Army, had organized a body of Indians in Pensacola and was training them for service. See Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson, passim.*

S. 55° W. 1 mile.	fine bottom on the right. Island continued on the left. The lands on the left shore, south of the island, are rich bottom. The island ends at 40 chains on this course. A small creek and bluff on the right, 10 ch. above the lower end of this island. The bluff continues to the end of this course and distance. The bluff contains pine, on its summit, and a fine spring at the end of this distance.
S. 10° W. 2 miles.	High, pine lands on the right. Very rich bottom on the left. The high lands recede gradually from the river, on the right, and bottom commences at 20 ch. A branch from the right at 60 ch.
S. 45° W. 20 ch.	High lands on the left, mixed with pine growth. Good bottom lands on the right.
S. 70 W. 2 m. 40 ch.	High, rich lands on the left and prime bottom on the right. A spring branch from the left at 20 ch. Another at 1 m. 20 ch. A branch on the right at 60 ch. Another spring on the left at 1 m. 40 ch. An improvement on the right at 1 m. 60 ch. Another at 2 miles. A spring branch from the right, a small distance below the improvement. A third improvement on the right, near the end of this distance.
S. 45° W. 20 ch.	Good lands on both sides.
S. 10° W. 1 m. 60 ch.	Excellent lands on both sides, to a handsome bluff on the right. A creek from the right.
S. 45° E. 2 m. 20 ch.	Bluff continued on the right 20 ch. Passed to the left of an island at from 40 ch. to 1 m. and 10 ch. Bottom on the left. Bottom on the right, below the bluff. A spring on the left near the end.
S. 15° E. 20 ch.	Prime lands on both sides.
S. 10° E. 2 m. 40 ch.	Prime lands on both sides. A very ancient improvement on the right at 1 mile. A creek from the left at the same distance. The lands on the right lie high, very rich and scarce of timber, supposed to be the effect of very ancient cultivation. This description of land extends a considerable distance.
S. 20° E. 1 m. 20 ch.	Good lands on the right, near the river, and high and piney at a short distance back from thence. Excellent lands on the left. A branch from the right at 1 mile. Another small branch

	from the right, near the end of this course and distance.
S. 35° E. 20 ch.	Good lands on both sides. A bottom on the left and spring branch from the right.
S. 60° E. 3 miles.	2 springs on the right at 6 ch. High lands on the right, near the river. Bottom on the left with rich, high lands near the lower end. High lands terminate at 1 mile and bottom commences. Passed the mouth of a large creek from the left, called Big Limestone, or Uper [*sic*] Limestone. It is the largest of 2 creeks of that name. This creek is named wrong on the map. It is there called Little Limestone.
S. 20° E. 20 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Rocky banks on the left.
South 1 mile.	The lands continue good on both sides. Passed the mouth of Lower Limestone, from the left, at 20 ch. above the end of this distance. This is called Big Limestone, by mistake, on the map.
S. 10° W. 40 ch.	Lands high and covered with pine on the left. Rich bottom on the right, and a spring on each side, within this distance.
S. 35° 20 ch.	A high bluff of poor, pine land on the left and rich bottom on the right. A spring on the left.
S. 60° W. 20 ch.	To Fort Claibourne, situated on the Alabama heights, on a bluff of pine lands, 150 feet, perpendicular, above the common tide. It is an eligible situation, on the left bank of the river, and overlooks an extence [*sic*] tract of bottom lands, on the opposite shore. A spring on the left, under the fort and near the water edge. There is another good spring a little below and on the top of the bluff, which affords water to the garrison.
West 30 ch.	Bluff continues on the left, poor and descending. Rich bottom continued on the right.
N. 55 W. 60 ch.	Bluff still continues to decrease in its height and still poor. The bottom on the right largely improved. Landed on the left bank, at John Weatherford's ferry, near the termination of the bluff, at 45 minutes after 3 o'clock P.M. and encamped for the night at 41 m. 20 chains. NOTE.—The road of communication between Fort St. Stephens, on the Tom-big-by river, and the State of Georgia crosses at this ferry,

and unites with the Federal road from Fort Stoddard at the distance of some 20 miles eastwardly from hence. Fort St. Stephens is about 40 miles, by the road, nearly west from this place. There is a pathway from hence to Mimms's ferry, say 40 miles, and another by which waggons [*sic*] and carriages travel to the same place, which is called 60 miles. It is called by some, much nearer than 40 miles to go the near way. For my own part I am (since descending to that place) clearly of opinion it must be 40 miles at least, or my courses and distances very incorrect. From Mimms's ferry it is called 14 miles to Fort Stoddard. It is from 110 to 120 miles (the traveling way) from hence to Fort Jackson.

Fort Claibourne is a strong built stockade, nearly square. On the centre of three squares are built blockhouses which have the effect of salient angles, or basteans, from the manner in which they are erected. There is also one of these, built in the line of an irregular offset in this work, made for the purpose of avoiding the inclosure of part of a ravine. Good quarters are erected within the fort, sufficient to contain one company, and also store houses for the Qrmasters and contractors departments.

The ferry is the property of John Weatherford, a friendly and active half-breed Creek Indian. He is nephew to Alexr. McGilvery and brother to the noted William Weatherford, who commanded at the destruction of Fort Mimms.

AUGUST 18th.

Proceeded at 40 m. after 10 o'clock A.M.

N. 60° W. 30 ch. John Weatherford's improvement, on the left, commences at the ferry and includes part of an excellent piece of bottom land. The improved lands, opposite, are also claimed by him. The improvement on the right is backed by a swamp through which runs two creeks which enter the river below said improvement.

N. 85° W. 60 ch. A bluff commences on the right at 40 ch. The improvement on the right ends at 30 ch., below which, and above the bluff, 2 small creeks, one

	at 35 and the other at 40 ch. On the bluff is an improvement, made and occupied by a Mr. Jones, near which is a fine spring. A fine bottom on the left.
N. 60° W. 40 ch.	The bluff continued on the right and bottom on the left. This bluff contains handsome farming land, but not very rich. Growth, pine, hickory and oak.
S. 45° W. 2 m. 40 ch.	Bottom continued on the left. The bluff on the right ends at a short distance and pine, hickory and oak lands continue. A short distance below the commencement of this course the lands on the left rise higher and become a high, rich up-land, intermixed with a few pine. At 60 ch. the lands on the right descend to a rich, high land of the same description of that on the left side.
S. 40° W. 40 ch.	Good lands on both sides. Bottom on the right and high lands on the left. A spring branch from the left, near the end of this distance.
S. 60° W. 1 mile.	High, oak, hickory and pine land on the left. Oak and hickory bottom on the right. A spring on the left, near the beginning [*sic*]. A creek from the right at 25 ch. Lands on the left, lower below the creek, and without pine, and descends to rich bottom lower down.
S. 20° W. 30 ch.	The lands on both sides, as represented above. A spring branch from the right.
S. 60° E. 1 m. 40 ch.	Lands on the right rise to a bluff at 20 ch., of tolerable good quality. Bottom continues on the left. Passed to the left of a small island. A large creek from the right, near the end of this distance.
S. 70° E. 3 miles.	High lands on the right and bottom on the left. Bottom on both sides from the end of 40 ch. A creek from the left at 2 miles. Another creek from the left at the end, say 3 miles, and an improvement on both sides.
S. 50° W. 40 ch.	A bluff of good lands on the left. Bottom on the right. A fine spring branch from the left at 20 chains.
South 1 mile.	A high bluff on the left and a prime bottom, containing 3 improvements, on the right.
S. 10° W. 2 m. 40 ch.	A high, poor bluff continued on the left. A rich bottom and improvement on the right. The bluff on the left ends at 40 ch. and is succeeded by rich bottom, an improvement on

each side belonging to Peter Randon, a friendly active half breed Indian. The improvements are large and on excellent land. That on the right is the largest and contains, at least, 100 acres. These improvements are about 1 mile below the commencement of this course and distance.

S. 40° W. 2 m. 40 ch. — The lands excellent on both sides. A large creek from the left at 20 ch. A spring branch from the left at 2 miles.

S. 30° W. 50 ch. — Prime, rich bottom lands on both sides. That on the left very low and, probably, swamp. A creek, or bayou, from the left.

S. 60° W. 1 m. 20 ch. — Improvements on the right. Lands on both sides as represented in the last course. This improvement is on a superb tract of land. A small creek from the left at 50 ch. An elegant tract of land on the left, below the creek, containing a small improvement at a good boat landing. The improvement on the right is said to have belonged to Dixon Bailey, a friendly half-breed chief, who fell, fighting bravely in defence of Fort Mimms. It is a large improvement and extends on part of the next course. It is now claimed by his two sisters, one single and the other married to a white man by the name of Sizemore.

S. 85° W. 1 mile. — Prime lands continue on both sides. A creek from the left at 40 chains.

S. 60° W. 1 m. 40 ch. — An old improvement on the right at 25 ch. Prime lands on both sides. Passed to the right of an island. A creek from the left at 40 ch. Another creek from the right near the termination of this course and distance.

S. 70° W. 2 mi. 40 ch. — A narrow bottom on the right, bounded by a high bluff of poor, pine land. Good bottom and improvement, on the left, near the begining [*sic*]. A creek from the right, and the bottom widens on that side, below the creek.

S. 40° W. 60 ch. — And [*sic*] old improvement on the left. Encamped at a large plantation on the right at the distance (this day) of 23 miles 60 chains.

AUGUST 19th.

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M.

S. 40° W. contd. 1 m. 20 ch. — Plantation on the right continued, on a rich and valuable tract of land, bottom. Rich bot-

	tom also on the left. The plantation ends at 30 ch.
S. 75° W. 60 ch.	Rich lands on both sides. An improvement on the left at the commencement. A small improvement on the right, opposite the lower end of the former.
S. 35° W. 40 ch.	Bottom on both sides, with pine lands on the right, at the distance of 20 ch. from the river. An improvement on the left at 20 ch., belonging to Sizemore, a white man, married to the sister of Dixon Bailey, as before stated. The bottom on the right widens in descending the river, on the next course. Another improvement on the left, belonging to the same Sizemore. He has another on the right, which is his principal plantation.
S. 20° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	Improvement on the left continued. Rich bottom on both sides. A small branch from the right.
S. 40° W. 1 mile.	An improvement on the right at the commencement. Rich lands on both sides.
South 20 ch.	Rich lands on both sides.
S. 10° E. 2 m. 20 ch.	Rich lands on both sides. A valuable plantation on the right at 1 m. 40 ch. belonging to a Mrs. Dyer, a half-breed Indian woman of the friendly party
S. 30° W. 40 ch.	Rich lands and another plantation on the right. Valuable lands on both sides, and a handsome low bluff on the left.
S. 55° W. 1 mile.	A plantation on the left at from 20 to 30 ch. Passed to the right of an island, opposite the plantation. Lands rich on both sides. A large creek from the left 10 ch. below the commencement. Passed close to the left shore. A bad shoal at the uper [*sic*] end of the island, and in the right hand passage. Improvement on the right.
N. 65° W. 60 ch.	Rich bottom on both sides.
N. 25° W. 40 ch.	To a beautiful bluff of rich and valuable lands and an improvement, on the left. Rich lands on both sides. The lowest bottom on the right.
N. 5° W. 60 ch.	Rich bottom on both sides. Improvement continued on the left.

N. 45° W. 40 ch.	A value [*sic*] improvement on the right from 20 to 30 ch. below. A sand beach on the left. Keep close to the right hand shore.
S. 65° W. 40 ch.	To the Chawtaw Bluff on the right. This is a handsome bluff of level pine lands, and contains a small improvement. Rich bottom on the left. A branch on the right at 20 ch. Improvement above the branch.
S. 5° W. 1 mile.	A large improvement on the left. A spring on the bluff, on the right. A small improvement on the left at 60 chains.
S. 55° W. 2 miles.	An old improvement on the left, at the begining [*sic*]. Another on the right at 20 ch. Improvements and good high bottom land commences 1 m. 40 ch. on a handsome low bluff, affording a good situation for a settlement on the right. An old improvement on the left 60 ch. above the termination of this distance. A large creek from the right at 1 mile. Bottom on the left.
South 1 m. 20 ch.	An old improvement on the left. An improvement on the right, from 60 ch. to the end of this course and distance.
S. 45° E. 1 mile.	Along a handsome bluff of rich land on the right. The bluff may be said to contain high, bottom land. It includes and [*sic*] old improvement near the uper [*sic*] end which shews the same appearance to the end of this course and distance. Good bottom land on the left.
East 1 m. 40 ch.	An improvement on the right, on the above bluff continued. It is at the begining [*sic*] of this course. Another on the same side 40 ch. lower down and on the same bluff. Low bottom on the left. Passed the mouth of a small lake at 1 m. 20 ch. It enters from the left.
South 20 ch.	Bottom lands on both sides. Passed the mouth of Little River from the left.
S. 70° W. 1 mile.	The improvements of Samuel Manack, an active friendly half-breed Indian, lies on both sides, at the commencement of this course. Good lands on both sides the whole distance.
S. 85° W. 60 ch.	Rich bottom on both sides. An old improvement on the left at the lower end of this distance.
N. 45° W. 1 m. 20 ch.	Rich bottom on both sides.

N. 35° W. 40 ch.	Low rich bottom on both sides.
West 20 ch.	A sharp, low point on the left. High bottom lands on the right.
S. 25 W. 40 ch.	Low point continued on the left. Lands higher on the right. It is a low, handsome bluff of open lands of good quality on its summit.
S. 45° E. 2 m. 60 ch.	Lands higher on the left, but still low and swampy. A handsome improvement on the right at 30 ch. An improvement on the right at 2 miles. A large plantation on the left commencing at the end of this course and distance. This last improvement belongs to David Tait, a *pretended* friendly half-breed Indian, nephew to the late Alexander McGilvery, and half brother to William and John Weatherford. John is a staunch friend of the whites and has been actively engaged on their behalf during the Creek War. William is that noted, daring chief of the war-party that commanded at the destruction of Mimms's Fort, and Tait is strongly suspected of pretended freindship, only in order to cover the extensive property of himself and William. He has never (with all his friendship) been known to turn out base, or use his influence in any manner, to surpass, or repel, the aggressions of the war-party either in its commencement, or since.
South 40 ch.	Tait's plantation continued on the left. Rich bottom on both sides.
S. 50° W. 1 mile.	An improvement on the left at 20 ch. Bottom on both sides.
N. 80° W. 1 m. 60 ch.	Excellent lands on both sides, open and cainey on the left. Thick woods and low on the right.
S. 45° W. 40 ch.	A handsome, rich bluff of level, high bottom lands on the right. Low and (supposed) swampy on the left. The margin on the right open and cainey.
S. 10° W. 1 mile.	Open, rich lands on the right, resembling old improvements. The low bluff continued. Low swamp lands on the left. A creek from the left near the end of this course.
S. 85° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	The lands on the left are rich and lie well. Low swampy lands on the right. A large creek from the right at 1 m. 20 ch.

South 30 ch.	A bluff and high bottom on the right. Swamp again on the left.
S. 45° E. 50 ch.	Bluff and high bottom on the right, and swamp on the left, continued.
S. 15° W. 40 ch.	A bluff on the left having the appearance of an old improvement. Low lands at the point on the right, and then rises to a bluff of good lands at 20 chains.
S. 30 E. 2 miles.	Low and swampy on the left. A low bluff and good lands on the right. Good lands commence on the left at 1 m. 40 ch. and low bottom commences on the right at the same distance. A large plantation on the left at the end of this course. An old improvement opposite, on the right.
S. 20° W. 20 ch.	Plantation continued on the left and low bottom on the right.
S. 85° W. 20 ch.	Plantation continued on the left and low bottom on the right. The river, which has been from 250 to 300 yds. wide from hence to Fort Claibourne, is here narrowed to about 120 yds.
N. 45° W. 1 m. 40 ch.	Low bottom on the right. High and rich on the left.
West 40 ch.	Bottom high on the right and low on the left.
S. 45° W. 40 ch.	Lands continued as last mentioned.
S. 10° W. 40 ch.	Lands low and flat on both sides.
S. 30° E. 60 ch.	An old improvement and high bottom on the right. Low on the left.
S. 60° E. 1 mile.	A plantation on the right, belonging to a Mrs. Dunn, a half-breed woman of the friendly party. It commences at the begining [*sic*] of this course and extends nearly the whole distance. Low bottom on both sides nearly the whole of this course and distance.
South 40 ch.	Bottom higher on the left and low on the right.
S. 50° W. 20 ch.	Lands continue the same as on last course. An old improvement on the left.
N. 80° W. 40 ch.	Lands continue on both sides, as above. Another old improvement on the left.
N. 35° W. 40 ch.	Improvement continued on the left. Low bottom on right. This old improvement has the appearance of a Cain-Prarie.
S. 60° W. 40 ch.	Lands low on both sides.

S. 10° 60 ch.	Bottom highest on the right. Swamp on the left.
S. 15° E. 30 ch.	Lands continue as last stated.
S. 45° W. 70 ch.	A bluff and bottom containing a large old field, on the left. Low on the right. The course and distance ends at the mouth of the cut-off, at 46 miles and 20 chains, and 350 m. 40 ch. below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and 357 miles below Fort Jackson.

At this place the Creek boundary line crosses the Alabama river (either from the East or South, I could not learn which) and enters the cut-off. It continues down the meanders of the cut-off to a point formerly agreed upon as a corner by the Creeks and Choctaws, from whence a dividing line was agreed upon between those nations, and which line, in part, since the Choctaw cession of 1805, has been run and marked as the dividing line between the Creek Nation and the United States, the courses and distances whereof is [*sic*] unknown to me. The Creek Nation, previous to the 9th instant, claimed all the lands lying to the East and North of that line, to where the northern boundary line crossed the Tom-big-by river, thence up that river to the Chickasaw line, thence eastwardly by various boundaries, to the line dividing that nation from the lands heretofore ceeded [*sic*] for the benefit of the State of Georgia. Their eastern and southern boundaries, as formerly claimed, are so hidden in obscurity that it is impossible, almost, to obtain a correct knowledge of them. It is sufficient, however, to state that the Treaty of the Ninth, when carried into effect, and its bounds are ascertained by the necessary survey, will enable me at some future day to shew, correctly, the situation of the claims of that Nation remaining within the bounds of the United States.[1] This will be done as soon as practicable, and a map thereof forwarded to the Department of War.

The cut-off is a small fork of the Alabama river, which breaks *out* of that river on the western side, and runs by various courses, into the Tom-big-by river at Carsons ferry, where the road crosses,

[1] The treaty of Fort Jackson, August 9, 1814, is here referred to.

leading from Fort Stoddard to Georgia, commonly called the Federal Road. This ferry is stated to be about 8 miles above sd. Fort. From Carsons ferry the road runs through an island of considerable length, lying within an obtuse triangle made by the two rivers and cut-off, before named. It is seven miles eastwardly, on the road to Mimm's ferry, at which the said road crosses the Alabama river. The cut-off breaks out of the river nearly three miles above the ferry. From the ferry to Fort Mimms is about 1 m. 20 chains, nearly east, and also, near the Federal Road. From the Fort to the cut-off is about 3 miles, nearly north.

Having arrived at the cut-off, between sun set and dark, and the Commanding General having determined to descend the river by night, it became impracticable to continue the survey, it therefore ceased at that point. It was, at the same time, considered that a further survey would be of little importance, as this was a noted point and could be easily and conveniently attached to the surveys of the Mobile, Tombigby, and Cut-off and Alabama, made by that, correct officer, General E. P. Gaines, and which was understood to be in the possession of the Department of War, long since.

From the rapid mode of descending the Alabama no other mode could be devised for measuring the course, than to estimate the distance by the eye. They are therefore (most likely) overated, as objects on a narrow water course always appears to be more distant than they really are. I am strongly inclined to believe in this distance, the difference of latitude between the commencement and end of this survey too great, and proves that my apprehension is well founded. The difference of latitude found on this survey is 127 m. 62 ch. 40 links. Believing Fort Jackson (about 2 miles north of the junction of Coosa and Tallapoosa) to be nearly in the degree of 32° 40 m. the distance (land measure) from thence to the southern boundary line on the 31 degree is 115 m. 6-10 or thereabouts. It is 18 or 20 m. south, from the cut-off to the 31st degree of latitude, which is to be added to the 127 m. 62 ch. 40 l. and also 2 m. north to Fort Jackson, making in all,

at least 149 m. 62 ch. 40 links, from which deduct 115 m. 48 ch., leaves a difference of 33-14-40 or thereabouts, error in difference of latitude, between the junction aforesaid and the cut-off. It is possible Fort Jackson may be further north than has been calculated on, which will correct a part of this calculation, but it is evident to me that the difference will still be too great. Probably in running the lines of the late Treaty, a base may be obtained that will enable me to correct this error, as no doubt the surveyor of those lines, will have the proper instruments for ascertaining the latitude of different prominent points, and which I was not furnished with at the time of making this survey. I think it probable the line of departure (say So. 37° West) will be found to be more correct, as the western courses were generally shorter than those of South, So. Eastwardly, or Southwardly, that is, between the So. and So. Et. and the So. and So. Wt. points. The between a line due south and the cut-off, or more properly the difference between a line due south and the cut-off, or more properly the line of departure gives a distance of 96 m. 23 ch. 32 links west from the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa.

The only advantage to be derived from the map of this river is that, it shews nearly, the true course and various meanders of this celebrated outlet for the valuable products of a fine country shortly to be placed in a state of prosperous cultivation, in a more correct point of view, than any that has heretofore appeared. The accompanying notes shew the quality of the lands bordering thereon, and its various tributary streams, with the sites of the Indian Towns, plantations or villages, &c., and navigation thereof from Fort Jackson to the cut-off. It is also shown by those notes that there are vast quantities of most excellent bottom and high lands bordering on this river throughout its whole distance. To what distance back from the river those valuable lands extend I could not, from the partial view I had of them, undertake to say, or even to risque an opinion that I could believe correct, from any information received from others. I have no doubt, however, that in many places, on both sides, those are extensive bodies of Prime

lands, capable of affording a considerable number of valuable settlements.

The rich lands, on the sides of the river, are far superior to any I have ever seen in any country, and I have no doubt will prove a source of immence wealth to those who may hereafter be doomed [to be] the cultivators.

The Cau-hau-ha river represented as entering from the north, is spoken of by General Johnson, Captain Gordon and many other respectable persons (good judges of land) who were in service in the Creek campaign, and who were detached to scour that part of the country, as being one of the most beautiful small rivers they had seen. That at the places where they saw this river, it appeared to be from 40 to 50 yards wide, and was probably capable of being navigated at some particular seasons, or state of the water. That it abounds with beautiful springs and creeks which feeds the principal stream. That these creeks are also abundantly supplied with excellent seats for water works of, almost, any kind. That they are constant & flush runing creeks at all seasons. The lands they describe as very desirable, in fact, with those Gentlemen, it is the Acadia of America.

Col. Gilbert C. Russel of the 3d Infantry, and the officers who accompanied him on an excursion up the west side of this river, from the Alabama heights, in the course of last winter, give nearly the description of the western side, as the Gentlemen before named, have done of the eastern, which, alone, was seen by them. Its waters are represented to be Limestone, or a mixture of Lime & Free-stone, of course, pure & healthy.

The lands of farming quality on the Cau-hau-ha and Alabama rivers are capable of producing, in great abundance, every article necessary to the sustenance of man, or beast, which are common to lands lying between the 31st & 34th° of Latitude North of the Equator. It is, in point of soil and climate, well adapted to the growth cotton, Hemp & flax and, in many parts, would produce good Tobacco. The cultivation of this country has hitherto been confined entirely to growth of corn, beans, peas, melons, and the

various kinds of vines common to savage life, all of which flourish well in this interesting country. Wheat is stated to flourish well between the 33 & 34° of Latitude, and I have no doubt it would as far south as 32d°. There are large tracts of Pine Barren lands within the bounds of the cession. These afford excellent range for Black Cattle. The Pine, excepting for timber, in most parts of the uper quarter of this country would be of but little use. Those lower down might be rendered profitable to the owner who would give themselves the trouble of extracting the Tar & Turpentine. The Pine is of the kind called Long-leaf—the kind most productive in those articles.

The Alabama river can be navigated with large keel boats, with tolerable ease and expedition, from the time the fall rains set in, until about the month of May or June, after which they become low & shallow, and are much incommoded (both in ascending and descending) by a variety of shoals, the most prominent of which are stated in the foregoing notes. The Islands are also an inconvenience in low water, in ascending, as the sluices become very rapid in that state of the waters, and essentially retard the progress of the navigator. Yet with all these inconveniences, I think it may be justly said that taking the whole of the ceded Territory lying north & west of the Coosa & Alabama rivers, and again, from the Big-Falls, or We-tom-ha—east & south to the O-fue-she creek and up that creek to the point of departure, thence a direct line to the cut-off, or to Fort Mims, taking that part lying north & west of this last mentioned boundary & south of the Alabama, including also, both sides of the Tallapoosa, is a section of country which comprehends as many advantageous situations for the encouragement of the Industrious Farmer, as any known of in the western parts of the United States, lying as far from the Atlantic ports, and I have no doubt, from the temperature of the climate which promises health to the settler, that the many substantial advancement it possesses, generally, will prove, a sufficient inducement to the citizens of the United States, to become pur-

chasors, and early settlers in this new and, as I think, delightful country.

In running west from the Chattahouchi upon the line of seperation between the United States, the Chactan-Hotchie is crossed at a point, or part of that creek which affords handsome farming lands sufficient for a tolerable good settlement. Again at the Yellow-Water, a fork of the Ecambay Bay, a small distance above the line, the same advantage exists, and on the Cana-ker, another fork entering into the same bay, there is a quantity of good lands from the line, up the said river (which is lengthy) sufficient for an extensive settlement, and also a sufficiency for another small settlement where the same line crosses the main Ecamby river, or Bay.[1] These will, of course, become advantageous settlements, as it is to be presumed that the Executive of the United States will readily conceive the propriety of establishing a line of posts, on that boundary, by recurring to recent Transactions of our *good friends* and their Allies, south of that line. Such a line of posts would seem to me important to the real interests of the United States, as well as to those numerous citizens who will, as soon as possible, settle on the lands herein described.

Leaving the cut-off, proceeded down the main Alabama river. Passed Peter Randons large valuable plantation situated on the right bank, on the Island produced by the communication of the waters of the Alabama with those of Tom-big-by through the cut-off, at 2 m. 40 ch. (say to his Houses) and Mimms's ferry. Randons plantation continueing for a considerable distance below the ferry. The only Improvement on the left is the ferry house at the mouth of a small Lagoon from whence, as before stated, it is about 1 m. 20 ch. nearly East to the site of Fort Mimms, now in ruins—at 3 miles below the ferry received a Lake or Laggoon from the left. This Lake commences near Pearces Boat Yard, in sight of Fort Mimms, from which, to the river, is called 3 miles, the

[1] Tatum here refers to the Choctawhatchee, Yellow, Conecuh, and Escombia Rivers, and the Escombia Bay. The geography of the region was little known at the time.

course nearly So. 70° West. It is navigable for small sloops & schooners, from the boat yard to the river. The Boat yard is about 1 m. 40 ch. from Fort Montgomery and nearly the same distance from Pearces Mill & Fort, which is about 1 mile from Fort Montgomery, the three points forming nearly a triangle. The boat yard & Pearces lying nearest the river. Proceeded 1 m. 40 ch. further, this night, and encamped on the Island on the right at 45 m. past 8 o'clock P. M. at 53 miles this day, and 7 m. 40 ch. below the cut-off, as near as could be ascertained by information, and a night view.

AUGUST 20TH

Proceeded at 25 m. after 5 o'clock A. M.

About 14 m. to Fort Stoddard, receiving from the right, the Tombigby river at the distance of about 10 miles. From this Junction the Mobile river commences, and is from 440 to 500 yds. wide, or upwards, to where the Tensaw river leaves the Mobile & courses to the left, at the distance of about 6 m. 40 ch. below the Junction and 2 m. 40 ch. below Fort Stoddard.

From the junction, where the Mobile commences, it takes its course down, nearest the right shore and empties into the Mobile Bay 3 m. below the Town of Mobile, and 27 miles, nearly north, from Mobile point at Fort Bowyer. Besides the Tensaw there are several other rivers, called by different names, as Middor & Spanish rivers, &c., which leave the Mobile and coursing to the left, & southwardly, by various routs form numerous, marshy Islands until they finally disenbogue their waters into the Bay of Mobile.

On the arrival of the boats & Troops at Fort Stoddard the whole landed and the Commanding General, accompanied by part of his staff and a few officers of the 39th Infantry, proceeded to Mount Vernon, distant about 2 miles, where Major Blue and a part of that regiment remained, the balance under Lt. Col. Benton having, shortly before that time, been marched to Holmes's Hill, on the east side of the Alabama, where they had commenced the building of a Fort called Fort Montgomery, the situation of which & distance from Fort Mimms, or the boat yard & Fort Pearce has

been already described. It was believed that this would be a more healthy situation for the Troops than Mount Vernon, where they had suffered greatly by sickness and would enable the troops to yield more immediate assistance & more permanent protection to the settlers on that side of the river most exposed to the depredations of the Indians. It had been, previously, well ascertained that the parties of McQueen & Frances, who had not surrendered & joined in the Treaty, had been received and cherished by the Governor of Pensacola. That he had permitted Brittish vessels to enter the Spanish ports with arms, ammunition & cloathing for the Creek Indians inimical to the United States Government, and permitted them freely to distribute them. That he had received and taken into his particular favor, a pretended Brittish officer, who called himself Captain Woodbine, who as an agent had in charge the aforesaid stores of arms, &c. and had actually permitted, & encouraged, the said Woodbine to embody & arm & cloath the said Indians, *within* the Town of Pensacola, and assumed upon himself the act of having so embodied the said Indians, and the arming & cloathing thereof, under the falacious pretence of one, apprehended, attack on his government by the American forces, against which he had made this cautionary provision. A guilty conscience is subject to many serious fears & apprehensions, and such appears to have been the case with this very *Amiable* Governor. The situation, therefore, of those settlers really called for a protecting force of some kind, in their vicinity, and perhaps this movement was prudent. In fact, circumstances have subsequently occurred that proves its propriety.

The Commanding General returned to Fort Stoddard in the after noon, where he permitted the Troops to remain for the purpose of cleaning & refreshing themselves, after the fatigue they had experienced in their descent, until the succeeding morning.

AUGUST 21ST

Proceeded at 6 o'clock A. M. and descended the Mobile river for the Town of Mobile, the place of destination, passing several

plantations situated on the right bank of the river and some few on Islands upon the left. On arriving at the distance of 4 miles above the Town, a heavy gale of wind compelled the General to order a landing, which was effected in a large Lagoon from the right where the boats rode in safety and on the morning of the 22nd at about 9 o'clock arrived at the wharf in front of Fort Charlotte, at Mobile, at the distance of about 420 miles below Fort Jackson, as nearly as could be ascertained.

The Commanding General, whilst at Fort Jackson, forwarded an order to Col. Sparks, commanding the 2nd Infantry & the post of Mobile, for the reoccupation of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile point, which had been abandoned by order of General Flournoy while commanding the district. On arriving at the wharf, the General was met by Major Lawrance, then about to descend the Bay with several sloops, schooners & barges, laden with troops, cannon & military stores for the purpose aforesaid. He sailed shortly after, on the same day, and after encountering, & surmounting many difficulties, from unfavorable winds and weather, effected a landing on the point and placed the Fort in as good a state of defence as the time would permit between that of landing and the 14th day of September, inclusive. The time allowed for these preparations having been much shortened by the difficulties in his descent, aforementioned, compared with the labor to be performed.

Head Quarters, for the present, being established at this Town, the Commanding General proceeded to make such arrangements for the defence of the port as the small means in his power enabled him to make. He had the Troops that descended the river with him, encamped at a healthy situation on Portage Creek, 3 miles north west from the Town, from whence they could be expeditiously marched to any point on that side of the Mobile Bay, at which their services might be required. That part of the 2nd which remained after the departure of Major Lawrence (say about 200 effectives) was detained, and continued in the occupation of Fort Charlotte, about 200 poles below the Town, under

the command of Colonel Richard Sparks, commandant of said Regiment and Port of Mobile. A few Choctaw Indians then at Mobile & in its vicinity, was taken into pay & organized into a company, as an auxiliary force until further reinforcements should arrive.

About this time (late in August) the General was advised that the Tennessee requisition of two Regiments and one battalion of Militia had been ordered into service subject to his disposition and would rendezvous in a short time, ready to march under the command of Brigadier General Taylor. On receiving this intelligence he dispatched an express to General Coffee of the same state, requesting him to collect 800 or 1,000 mounted Gun-men as Volunteers, if practicable, and march them as speedily as possible to his aid, with orders to his adjutant General, then near Nashville, to have the two Regiments marched, wihout delay, to the neighborhood of Mobile, and to have the battalion distributed at sundry military posts in the Creek & Cherokee Nations, to protect the stores deposited there. Captain James Denkin of the 3d Infantry was detached at the same time to aid Col. John McKee, the Choctaw Agent, in getting into service as many Choctaw & Chickasaw Indians as possible, and wrote to the Governor of the Mississipi Territory to have his proportion of the United States requisition marched without delay, to the neighborhood of Fort Montgomery, where the Indians were also to rendezvous.

Whilst the above arrangements were making, information was received that parties of the Indians from Pensacola was in the habit of making frequent excurtions from thence across the Perdido, and killing the cattle of the citizens of the United States, who had been compelled to abandon their possessions on the east side of Mobile bay, and driving others to Pensacola both for use & salt. That these Indians had been regularly embodied into a corps, under the command of the before named Woodbine (our professed enemy) either by the order or permission of the Spanish Governor of that place. From the warlike attitude, therefore, in which these savages then appeared, no doubt could be enter-

tained that the object was to commit every act of murder & devastation, in their power, on the persons & property of our citizens. For the purpose therefore of repelling these predatory attacks, and punishing the agressors, the General called into service from the neighbouring counties, by voluntary enrolment, a small force, for a short period, of mounted Gun-men who were directed join the 39th Regiment of Infantry (then weak in numbers & very sickly) for the purpose of strengthening the new post of Fort Montgomery, and, occasionally, sending out small detachments to scour the country between the Perdido & the river and Bay of Mobile, below the line of demarkation, and also as far as said line, on the east of Perdido, and from thence to the Escambia river, with directions that these detachments should kill & take all Creek Indians discovered by them on the scout. The Choctaws and part of the regular force at Mobile & in its vicinity were also sent in parties from time to time, across the Bay to scour part of the same country, as far as the Perdido. These detachments were often successful in defeating the projects of the enemy and lessening their numbers by killing several of Captain Woodbine's, or the Governors corps sent out for the before recited purposes. Parties also from the neighbourhood of Fort Montgomery were equally successful. In this situation things remained until the night of the 3rd of September, when a considerable firing of musketry was heard from the East side of the Bay in the direction of the Houses & Mill of a Mr. D. Olive of the Town of Mobile. Early the next day correct information was received that an attack had been made on D. Olives House, where he had an Overseer & three negroe slaves. That the Overseer & two of the slaves had been taken and carried off for Pensacola by Indians from that place, part of Woodbines corps. One other of D. Olives Negroes made his escape and gave the same information. A party was immediately detached & sent in pursuit, but from the tedious delay occasioned in crossing the Bay for want of proper transportation the enemy effected a safe retreat across the Perdido and escaped to Pensacola, with their prisoners, in safety.

About this time (say the 3d or 4th September) a Brig, prize to the Brittish Armed Brig Sophia, said to have been recaptured from the Barritarians, foundered near Dauphin Island and was captured by the party under the command of Major Lawrance at Fort Bowyer. The prisoners taken on board, one Prize Master & 6 Seamen of the Brittish and 3 Spanish Seamen, represented to be part of the original crew of the Prize. These last mentioned seamen the General determined to keep in close confinement as hostages for the safe return of D'Olive's Overseer & his two slaves, and notified the Governor of Pensacola of this determination, accompanied with the most positive assurance that these men would me made to answer, *Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth* & *Scalp for Scalp* the injuries which should be inflicted on, or suffered by, D'Olive's Overseer or Negroes aforesaid. He, the said Governor, having now informed the Commanding Generally, formally by letter delivered by his Lieutenant (Gilmar) bearing date on the first day of September, 3 days previous to the attack on D'Olives House & capture aforesaid, that *he* had Armed those Indians who had committed this outrage. The only excuse for which arming, that was attempted by the Governor (after stating in his said letter, many harsh charges & assertions against the American Government) was, that he had armed them as a measure of precaution to meet any attempt of the American Government to Invade Pensacola *as they had formerly Mobile.* This declaration of the Governor, and the act that followed, of the attack upon D'Olives Property & its capture, as well as that of the American Citizen at the same time & place, and that too, within three days from and after the date of this acknowledgement, or declaration; together with the further information received by the General that this same Governor had received into his ports four Brittish Armed Vessels of War, and that they were actually lying in the Ports & Bay of Pensacola at the time this menacing letter was written & sent by Lt. Gilmar to him, was considered by the General as a strong evidence (at least) that the Government was about to place itself in a Belligerent state as against the United

States, and warranted the determination of the General so far at least as it respected these three seamen. The Spanish Governor, on his part, having by his letter taken upon himself the responsibility for the fresh agression, committed at D'Olive's.

Serious apprehensions were now Entertained, by many, for the safety of Fort Bowyer. The vessels lying at Pensacola was believed to be merely the van of a much larger naval force destined to act in these seas, and accompanied (perhaps) by land forces intended for the reduction of Mobile and occupation of West Florida.

On the 12th the Commanding General dismissed Lieut. Gilmar with his answer to the *very polite* note of his Excellency. The Lieut. sailed on the morning of the 13th and in the same evening the General with his aid, Capt. T. L. Butler, Embarked on board of a small schooner for Fort Bowyer, accompanied by Col. Sparks of 2d Infantry, myself and a small guard, for the purpose of examining the situation of that Fort and ascertaining its means of Defence in case of an attack. At about 11 o'clock P. M. this schooner was hailed by the Schooner Shirk, then on her way from Mobile Point, and informed by her Commander that Lt. Roy of the 2d was on board and had dispatches from Maj Lawrance to the General. Lt. Roy was immediately ordered on board with his letters which contained [information] that, a number of Brittish Armed Ships, Brig, &c. lay off the bar, and from their manoeuvering & sounding &c. shewed a design of attacking that Fort, or passing it for Mobile. On receiving this information the General gave orders for an immediate return to Town. The schooner was hove about and every exertion made, but the wind being strong ahead from the north and the vessel an indifferent sailer with but little ballast, no great advantage could be gained, thus she laid off & on until about 12 o'clock on the 14th when the General ordered her into the mouth of Dog river (9 miles below the Town of Mobile) at which place she arrived at about 1 o'clock P. M. At 2 o'clock the General & his aid-de-camp, with part of the Guard embarked on board a Pirogue and arrived safe at Mobile in the even-

ing (leaving Colonel Sparks & myself with part of the Guard, on board the schooner) at the Town of Mobile, and immediately detached from the 3d Infantry one full company to the aid of Fort Bowyer. The command devolved upon Capt. Laval, a brave & experienced officer, who embarked early on the same night on board one of the large Barges by which the Troops had descended from Fort Jackson (no other vessels being to be gotten) and proceeded towards the point, with orders to search out and embark on board the Shirk. It was not until after daylight the Shirk could be discovered. On her they then embarked and proceeded with all possible dispatch and arrived within 4 miles of the Fort by 3 o'clock P. M. where witnessed the commencement of a most Tremendous Engagement between the said Fort and four Brittish Armed Vessels without any possibility of yielding the aid intended, to the Fort. The Vessels Engaged were the Hermes & Carron Sloops of War mounting 22 32-lb. & 6 8-lb. carronades each. The Brigs Sophia & Childress mounting 18 18-lb. long Guns each, as is said. A land force was also to be seen on the point, in rear of the Fort, composed of a party of the Brittish Marines, and the Indian Forces of the Governor of Pensacola, under the Command of Woodbine, their leader. The action was fought with great bravery on both sides until 8 o'clock P. M. when the spring on the cable of the Hermes being cut away, she wore ship head on upon the shore and grounded, in which situation she received from the Fort a most destructive raking fire. Again she wore & slipt her cable and in wearing received another severe rake from stern to stern, from which she drifted & grounded about 700 poles below the Fort where she was abandoned, fired and blew up. The remaining three also slipt their cables and made off with all speed, the Carron & Sophia in a situation not to be envied. The Commander of the Childress had behaved more *prudent* and kept aloof from danger. She may be said to have made her escape almost without *a wound.*

In this engagement some circumstances occurred that afforded strong suspicions (if not full proof) that the enemy had determined to give no quarter. They are these. That while engaged the

colors of the Hermes fell, which was seen from the Fort and considered as having been struck for a surrender. The firing at the Hermes ceased until her flag was again raised and she commenced firing. A short time afterwards, the flag-staff of the Fort was shot down & the Flag fell. So soon as this was seen by Woodbine and those with him, the corps of Marines & Indians advanced with great speed as if with an intent to storm the works, but on seeing the flag hoisted again, they retreated with equal, or greater speed and concealed themselves behind the numerous hillocks of sand which had supplied their *s * ing* posts, in the former part of the action, in which situation they remained until marched off after the action had terminated.

The Fort at the time this action took place contained only Eleven Mounted Guns, 2 of which were of 24-lb. calliber, 2 of 4-lb. and the balance of 9 lb. & 12 lb. The 2 largest cracked early in the action and were of little service afterwards, & one or both of the 4 lbrs. were dismounted or broken. The loss on the American side was 4 killed & 5 wounded, exclusive of Captain Walsh of the Artillery & 10 or 12 men who were badly burned by the explosion of some loose cartridges belonging to one of the Guns, which took fire from Neglect or inattention. The loss on the side of the enemy on this occasion could never [be] fairly ascertained, of course, variously reported, but believe it may fairly [be] stated at not less than Two hundred seamen & Marines.

The northern winds prevailed at the time this action was fought, & were so fresh on that day that none of the guns were heard that day at the Town, nor by Col. Sparks & myself who were still six or seven miles below, not as yet having been able to reach the Town with our schooner, from the mouth of Dog river. Captain Laval had been obliged still to remain in the situation he was in at the commencement of the action. The Fort lay between him & the ships engaged, but so that he could have a good view while it was day-light, but when the Hermes, which was the advance ship, wore round and was afterwards fired at the place she

*Word is undecipherable in MSS.

grounded, it placed the Fort more immediately between and gave, by the burning of the sails an appearance of Tents, &c. burning in the Fort, and this impression was so forceably impressed upon his senses that no doubt remained with him that such was the fact, and that the explosion on the ships blowing up was the Magazine in the Fort and of course that the Fort was taken by the assailants, and with these impressions he commenced his return and reported accordingly on the forenoon of the 16th. It was discovered, however, that one of his Pilots had taken up a different opinion and expressed his belief that it was one of the vessels that had suffered. In addition to this, we obtained for our consolation the opinion of a Corporal that had been detached by the Captain, late in the evening, was information of what was going on. He stated that he had been obliged to bear in a western direction on his departure from the Vessel he had left, and had made but small progress when the ship took fire, or was set on fire he could not tell which. That he had so far cleared the encumberance of the Fort from his view as to see the line of seperation distinctly, and did not hesitate to assert positively that it was a Vessel and not the Fort that had been burnt & blown up. Great anxiety was therefore experienced upon receiving this, conflicting, information, and the prospect of getting more certain for some time, appeared doubtful, when on the 17th early, the General & friends of the country was favored with Maj. Lawrances report of the action and his success. This information dispelled a dismal cloud from the brows of the friends of America, which soon settled on those of some others in this Town who had been basking in, what they believed to be, sunshine, ever since the arrival of Captain Laval and party. Lieutenant Gilmar who had been ordered back by Maj. Lawrance, to Mobile, previous to the commencement of the action, appeared much mortified & distressed at this news of his friends misfortune, and with a countenance exceedingly attenuated, applied for and obtained his passports for his return to Pensacola, where he might freely exercise his sympathies for the shame and distress his royal friends had brought upon themselves by this imprudent and ill-judged attack.

Lt. Gilmars anxiety is more particularly noticed in consequence of serious suspicion having been entertained of the honorable intentions of the Governor in sending this gentleman to the General with his note at the time he did. His appearance on receiving the news cleared it of all mistery.

As it is understood that the department of war has already been placed in possession of a chart of Mobile Bay and Point, taken from actual survey, and also of a plan of Fort Bowyer, (by Mr. Pelia, the Engineer) situated at the extreme end of the point. It is deemed superfluous for me of any part except of the point adjacent to the Fort, which, if not heretofore communicated, is of some importance to be known in order to form a proper judgment as to the advantage & disadvantages attached to this post, and to enable the adoption of the necessary measure of strengthening its defences.

This point is at the extreme end of a peninsula lying between, and bounded by, the Bays of Bonsecour & Mobile on the north, and the sea, or Ocean on the South. The entrance into the bay on the west, around & by the point, as will be seen by refference to the charts. Navy Cove lies in the side of Mobile Bay, 3 miles above the point, from which to the point the distance between the Bay & Ocean, or sea shore is from 30 to forty chain—the land, a level low bed of loose sand and very open and thinly timbered. At the distance of from 30 to 40 chains back of the Fort, and on the Bay side there is a mound of sand, of considerable size which is about 10 feet higher than the parapet of the Fort. There are smaller mounds, connected with, and, extending from the principal along the Bay side to within about the distance of 150 or 200 paces of the Fort, which affords compleat shelter to any land force that is wished to be march from behind the large mound, along the Bay side, to that place, from whence, regular approaches may be commenced & carried on with great facility to the Glacis of the Fort. From this circumstance it would seem that, the Fort must always be subject to capture by land forces, without

some additional aid.[1] Should the mound be found capable of bearing the weight of a fortification, it is doubtful whether it could be abandoned or reinforced at pleasure whilst a force was before it. It is certain it could not if the enemy should possess himself of the Bay, which might be done by way of Daupin Island with armed Barges at least. The only way to obtain perfect security for the Fort appears to be that of keeping a vessel well armed & manned, within the Bay, of superior size & strength to any that the enemy would ever attempt to pass through the channel into the Bay. That now on the stocks at Tchefonta would answer the purpose admirably. The mound must either be levelled with the other parts of the lands on the point, or fortified. If it is capable of supporting one, it is to be preferred to pursue that measure.

Such a vessel as that above alluded to, well armed & manned, with a few attendant Gun Barges, would be able both to assist the Fort in defending the entrance into the Bay, and raking every part of the Peninsula, from the Bay across to the seashore, from Navy Cove down to the point. It would also be a sufficient force to take or destroy any that an enemy might be able to get into the Bay through any other than the main channel.

Fort Bowyer, it is believed, would be much strengthened, did it contain a greater extent of Water Battery. This might easily be effected by extending the circle on the Bay side from the North East demi-bastion to a point covering the extreme angle of the full bastion. There errect a demi-bastion, and from thence unite the two demi-bastions by a strong curtain line & parapet, instead of the weak one which now unites the full Bastion with the Demi-Bastions. Let the parapet be 10 instead of 3 feet thick, so as to be capable of arresting a cannon ball with some effect in case, as heretofore, it should become necessary. Such a battery would contain from 18 to 20 guns—24 & 32 lbs.—besides 2 of 12 lbs. in

[1] It was by this approach that Fort Bowyer was taken by the British on February 12, 1815. See Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* I, 210. It is not clear that this part of the report was written before the affair of February 12, 1815, when Fort Bowyer was taken by the British.

the Demi-Bastions. These would probably be sufficient to sink all the vessels, in a short time, that any enemy should dare to attack with, and with such a Frigate lying at the mouth of the entrance into the Bay, as that lying on the stocks at Tchefonta, properly manned & equipped, in aid of this Fort, would prevent any force from passing it, that an enemy could possibly send against either with a view of making a capture, or forcing a passage into the Bay.

How far the fortifying Daupin Island might be deemed absolutely necessary, or only proper as a measure of precaution & defence, I am not able to judge. My information upon that subject I must confess is extremely limited.

A Topographical description of the country below the (former) Spanish & American line, it is presumed has already reached the Department of War through the agency of Maj. Genl. Gaines or some other officer (understood to have been) heretofore engaged in such discoveries. If a proper description has not already [been] transmitted, I can only lament that it is not in my power to remedy the evil, by any information I obtained during the short stay I made in & about Mobile, and can only say that from the maps I have seen, the rivers, creeks & Bays, as far as my observations extended, appear to have been correctly delineated. The face of the country is as uninteresting as it possibly can be. As a commercial Town, (situated on a handsome plain) [it] may become a place of great importance since the acquisition, obtained, of the Alabama & its waters. Its unhealthy, local, situation is much to be regretted. In all Northern winds, (in the summer & fall seasons) a stench arizes from the Numerous Marshes opposite, and above, this Town that are truly suffocating, and produces pestilence & death among the inhabitants to a degree truly alarming.[1]

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[1] At this point a leaf of the original report is missing. In the typed copy appears the following entry:

Memo., Sept. 10, 1903. The leaf here missing was so missing when this journal came into my possession to read for official purposes.—J. G. MAYNARD, Clerk, Misc. Div., A. G. O.

There are some who entertain an opinion that the Town of Blakely, lately laid out on the East side of the river, nearly opposite to Mobile, will prove to be a more healthy situation, as it is better watered, and less subject to the noxious effluvia experienced at Mobile. How far this opinion may prove correct I cannot pretend to say, but to me it appears reasonable as it does not appear to lie where it could be effected by a north wind. It is, however, certain that their is a point some where on the Mobile, or Tensau, river that at no distant period of time, must become important in a commercial point of view.

On the Commanding General's arrival, at the Town of Mobile, it was discovered that several Spanish Vessels were there in pursuit of cargoes of corn and other provisions, some of which were loading, and that the whole of them were destined to the port of Pensacola where (it was then well understood) Brittish Armed Vessels and other forces were daily expected, for the *declared* purpose of retaking from the American Government, that part of West Florida, now in possession of the United States, and delivering the same into the hands of the Spanish Government. The General, in consequence of this discovery, immediately issued an Order which put a stop to the exportation of corn, and every other species of provision from that port, except so much as was necessary for the use of the vessels crew. The same orders were sent to New Orleans, and the Military Officers at that, and all the adjacent ports, charged with the due execution of this order, by stoping & detaining all Vessels laden in whole, or in part, with such cargoes until further orders, unless the Commander, or Commanders of such vessel or vessels would reland such cargoes, or parts thereof, as were thus prohibited, in which case they were permitted to depart. But as soon as the General had ascertained that the enemy were actually on the Coast and some of their Vessels of War were lying in the Bay of Pensacola, or Escambia, this conditional Embargo was rendered compleat, both as to vessels & cargoes in order to prevent the enemy from obtaining any means of transportation, by means of the

Neutral Vessels (if they could be so denominated) trading from New Orleans to Pensacola, or any other foreign port. By these judicious precautions, the enemy were prevented from getting considerable quantities of provisions & means of transportation from within our ports and rivers. Several of the vessels thus detained were soon discovered to be those actually chartered, and sent to procure provisions, by the commanders of the Enemy's Vessels they lying in the Port of Pensacola.

The Town of Mobile is incapable of immediate defence as a military position. Its reliance for safety is upon its out posts. The defences, therefore, at the entrance into its Bay, are important to its safety, and requires the particular attention of Government. Should a force by land attempt its capture, that force must be met at a distance and the issue tryed in the woods or fields. An American force should never suffer itself to risque the effects of a siege in this place. Captivity would be the certain consequence, as all possibility of retreat is easily cut off by a superior force.

On the day succeeding the attack on Fort Bowyer, the land forces of the Enemy retreated along the Peninsula and halted a part of their forces at Bonsecour landing, where they destroyed a small quantity of Tobacco, Cotton, &c. lodged at that place for the purpose of being transported, by an inland navigation & short Portage, to Pensacola. The property thus destroyed, was understood to belong to a few Spanish-American & Anglo-Spaniards. Some other injuries were experienced by the citizens resident at and near that place, or holding property in that neighborhood. The enemy, thus engaged, continued the possession of that place for two or three days. The balance of the enemy's forces continued their march to Pensacola where they were joined in a short time by the Naval.

The Commanding General having received information, on the 16th or 17th, that the enemy occupied the place of landing, on the Bonsecour river, an attempt was made to cut-off the party (supposed then to consist of the whole of the enemy's land forces,

including the Governor's Indian Corps) and for that purpose sent orders to Lt. Colonel Benton, commanding at Fort Montgomery, to march a certain proportion of the Infantry & mounted Gun-men, with what Indian force he should have at that post, down the East side of the river and Bay. At the same time he sent an express by water to Major Jo Woodruff of the 3rd Infantry (who had been detached with about 300 men, properly officered, on the 16th to aid and support Fort Bowyer, if not captured) supposed to be at Mobile point, directing him to march up the Peninsula and attack the enemy in rear at Bonsecure, or proceed up the Bay by water, if he though it more advisable, and fall into the enemy's rear by that means. Lt. Colonel Benton & Maj. Woodruff, it was understood, were each advised of the movements intended by the other, so as to prevent confusion by the two parties reaching and occupying the same ground. The express was overtaken by a severe gale and with some difficulty reached Dauphin Island, where he was detained for several days. This misfortune prevented Maj. Woodruff from receiving his orders; and finding the fort safe he, according to his first orders, returned to Head Quarters, from whence he departed shortly after, with new instructions, across the Bay nearly opposite to Mobile. This movement placed both the pursuing parties above, and in front of the enemy, should they have remained at Bonsecure. The lapse of time occasioned by these, necessary, movements afforded the enemy an opportunity of gaining information and making his escape. He was pursued, however, as far as the Perdido about 20 to 25 miles, but had crossed that Bay before the arrival of the pursuing forces. Thus the object of the pursuit was defeated, and the pursuing detachments each returned to their several posts.

Parties from Mobile and from Fort Montgomery were still sent to patrol on the East as before. In one of those excursions, a party of Mounted Gun-men from Fort Montgomery discovered an Indian trail, (supposed to be part of the Governors Beef-Hunters) which they pursued and overtook at a place called the Alligator Holes, on the East side of the Perdido river & nearly on the

road leading to Pensacola. They killed 6 of this party, with the loss of one man (Bates) of the detachment. This was the only transaction, or movement of any consequence deserving notice, which occurred, up to the middle of the month of October, about which time the Commanding General received information that Brigadier General Coffee was rapidly advancing, through the Choctaw Nation, to join him, with about 2,000 or 2,200 (instead of 1,000) volunteer Mounted Gun-men from West Tennessee. That Colonel Lowry, from the same quarter, was advancing, by the way of Fort Jackson, with one compleat Regiment of the requisition Militia forces. That the Territorial Quota of Drafted Militia were also near at hand, and that Major Thomas Hind (an active & valuable officer) with his Squadron of Mississippi Dragoons nearly reached Mount-Vernon. In addition to this information, the General received daily advices of the arrival of numbers of Choctaw Indians at Mount Vernon, and that the whole number when concentrated would amount to about 800 warriors, as nearly as could be ascertained.

On receiving the above information (which was confirmed in part by the arrival of Col. Robt. Butler, adjutant General of the District, immediately from West Tennessee, accompanied by Major Peace of the 44th Infantry) orders were given for the encampment of all the Infantry & Indians, which should arrive, at and near Fort Montgomery. That General Coffee and his Brigade, & Major Hind's Squadron should be encamped on the cut-off Island where forage could be more conveniently collected for the horses, and that so encamped they should await the arrival of the Commanding General. The Troops composing the 3rd Infantry & Captain Bakers company of the 44th, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice, and large supplies of military stores & provisions directed to be sent up the river to the neighborhood of Fort Montgomery, for the purpose of affording supplies to troops daily arriving. Orders were also issued requiring the Quarter Master General's department to be active

in the necessary supplies of forage to meet the exigencies of the contemplated movements.

Thus, then, has the Topography of the Country—Movements of the Army and every material occurrence that has taken place since my arrival at Head Quarters, Fort Jackson, to the 20th day of October, 1814, inclusive, been truly set forth & delineated; with causes producing those movements and occurrences, as far as my *limited* means of acquiring information on the one hand, and my personal view and observations on the other, has enabled me to perform the duties of my station.

I feel much regret at not having had it in my power to give a more perfectly detailed account of the movements of this portion of the army, than will be found contained in this communication, together with the occurrences that have taken place, and, particularly, the causes leading to the production of such occurrences. I trust, however, that when Government are informed that however it may be in other divisions of the army, in this, a Topographical Engineer is not considered as entitled to any greater information on those subjects, than any other officer of the line; It is presumed a reasonable excuse will be found for the apparent omission, or neglect of duty under such circumstances.

The Commanding General having determined to assume the immediate command of the forces collected and collecting, at Fort Montgomery, and in its vicinity, the 21st & 22d was appropriated to making the necessary preparations & arrangements for his departure from Mobile.

The declared object of these measures was a Visit to Pensacola, for the purpose of forcing the Brittish to abandon that place and enforcing upon the Executive of the Spanish Government the propriety and *necessity* of preserving & protecting the neutrality of his government agreeable to Treaty or in case of inability to do so, to admit the American forces to an equal participation of rights & privileges, as granted to the Brittish forces then at that place.

OCTR. 23RD, 1814

The necessary arrangements having been completed the Commanding General & suit departed from Mobile at 3 o'clock P. M., leaving orders for the 3rd Regiment of Infantry & Captain Bakers company of the 44th to follow as soon as practicable—proceeded to Chicasaw Bogue (a creek so called) 12 miles and halted for the night.

24TH

Proceeded at 8 o'clock A. M. to judge Toulmans, near Fort Stoddard, 28 miles.

25TH

Proceeded to Carsons ferry on Tombigby river, 7 miles. At this place fell in with General Coffee's Corps of Mounted Volunteer Gun-Men from West Tennessee, said to be 2,000 men & officers. One Regiment of this Corps had arrived on the preceeding day and had crossed to the East side of the river and encamped on the cut-off Island near the ferry—passed through the Island, 7 miles, passing Major Hind's Squadron of Mississippi Cavalry, encamped at Peter Randons, near Mimms's ferry, on the bank of the Alabama. Crossed the Alabama at the said Ferry and proceeded to Fort Pearce, 3 miles, passing Fort Mimms and a place called the Boat-Yard at 1 m. 20 ch., at which place found a small detachment of Mounted Gun-Men encamped. The same that had been called into service for 60 days, as herein before stated.

26TH

Visited the Boat-Yard, at which place a detachment of the Territorial Militia had arrived. These were immediately detached to Fort Charlotte, at Mobile, to supply the place of Captain Bakers company of the 44 Infantry then ascending the river to this place. Visited Fort Montgomery & made such arrangements as were deemed necessary and returned to Head Quarters at Fort Pearce.

27TH

This day the Commanding General visited the Troops on cut-off Island, consisting of about 2,300 Dragooms & Mounted Gun-Men.

28TH

Major Woodruff arrived at the Boat-Yard, this day, with the 3rd U. S. Infantry from Portage Creek, which march had been performed in one day & to 5 o'clock P. M. on the next—the distance supposed 52 miles crossing 2 ferry's. Captain Donelson arrived shortly after the 3rd Infantry, with his Company of West Tennessee Rangers consisting of 106 officers & soldiers.

29TH

No material occurrence took place this day.

30TH

On the morning of this day, the first regiment of West Tennessee, drafted, Militia (part of Genl. Taylors Brigade) arrived and encamped near Fort Pearce, supposed to contain near 1,000 men, officers included. At 12 o'clock on this day Captain Baker & company of the 44th Infantry arrived from Mobile and landed at the Boat-Yard from the store Vessels under his charge.

OCTR. 31ST

Early on this day Captain Wm. O. Butler of the 44th Infantry arrived, from Nashville, at Fort Montgomery with his company.

NOVR. 1ST

On this day Captain Johnson arrived with his company of Territorial Militia. Arrangements were made on this day for the march of the army on the morrow. The two companies of the 44th & two companies of the 39th Infantry were placed under the command of Maj. H. Piere of the 44th who had arrived at Mobile previous to the Generals departure from that place. The Choctaw Indians which had been collecting at Fort Montgomery for some time, and now amounted to 6 or 800 were placed under the Command of Major Uriah Blue of the 39th Infantry and a Maj. Joseph Kennady & formed two small battalions, the whole subject to the command of Maj. Blue.

The whole of the forces at Fort Montgomery and in its vicinity having arrived at that post, the Commanding General placed Lt. Colonel Perkins of the Territorial Militia in command of Fort

Montgomery with a sufficient force for its protection, and commenced his march at 2 o'clock P. M. in the following order, to wit,—A company of Spies selected from the Volunteer Mounted Gun-men in advance, under the command of a Captain Bean, an experienced woodsman. These were followed by the Mississippi Dragoons, in five columns, the centre column in the road. The 3rd U. S. Infantry & Maj. Piere's Battalion composed the front of the Centre Column. The Commanding General & Staff in the rear of the Regular forces, followed by the artillery consisting of two Brass 12 lbrs. and 1 6-lbr. commanded by Captain J. Denkin of the 3rd Infantry & Captain D. Deadrich, commander of a small party of Volunteers from Nashville, West Tennessee. The artillery was followed by one regiment of Dismounted Volunteer Gun-Men. The Baggage and other Waggons followed this last regiment. The Choctaw Indians formed a column in rank entire on each side of the centre column, extending from the head of the artillery to the rear of the Baggage Waggons. General Coffee's Mounted Volunteers formed columns in file, on each side of the Centre and extending an Equal length with those of the Choctaws. Colonel Lowry's Regiment of West Tennessee Militia, under the command of Lt. Colonel Hammond closed the rear, marching by heads of companies extended in line on each side of the road and covering the rear of all the other columns. Marched 7 miles through well timbered, level, sandy, pine lands, and encamped at Mrs. Tormens cow-pens on the Federal road. This encampment, and all others on this expedition composed a hollow square.

3RD

Took up the line of march at 6 o'clock A. M. & marched 6 miles along the Federal Road to the fork leading to Pensacola—lands the same as on yesterday—thence to the right, along the road leading to Pensacola 4 miles through poor, Pine woods interspersed with ponds, or savanna's, to Cochran's Cowpens about one mile above the head of the main Perdido river. This cowpen, or small, stock, plantation lies on the East side of a small fork of the Perdido and has the advantage of an excellent spring. The

lands very poor. Continued 4 miles further over the same kind of poor pine lands and Encamped at 14 miles.

NOVR. 4TH

Continued the line of march at 6 o'clock A. M., crossed the line of limit in 31° North latitude at 6 miles. Continued in all 15 miles to Pine-Barren-Creek a water of the Escambia entering from the west. Lands of the same quality with those travelled over on yesterday. Passed near a branch on the left, a water of Pine-Barren-Creek, at 10 miles. This was the first water obtained on this days march. The General being informed that no water could be procured to supply the troops under 10 or 12 miles from the creek, The Troops were halted at 2 o'clock P. M. and Encamped for the night at the distance of 15 miles in advance of their Encampment of last night.

From this Encampment 50 Spies, 50 Dragoons, and 70 Choctaw Indians were detached to Boyles's stand (an American who resided 12 miles short of Pensacola) where a Spanish Guard was usually kept up as a vehicle of intelligence to the Town. This detachment were ordered to take Boyles and all other men found at his stand, and bring them to the Commanding General.

5TH

Proceeded on the line of march at 6 o'clock A. M. Passed a spring of the Escambia waters, on the left of the road, at 10 miles. A place called the Alligator Holes at 12 miles. Marched in all 25 miles & encamped about 1½ miles short of Boyles's at a spring a water of the Escambia, at night.

The lands on this days march continued of a poor, sandy quality, but more broken than that heretofore passed over. Pine growth continued as heretofore. The last 10 or 12 miles the road ran on the ridge dividing the waters of Escambia from those of the Perdido. From this ridge sundry rildy branches run into one or the other of those principal streams. At about 23 miles crossed Jacks branch which runs into the Perdido, though at this time perfectly dry. Discovered but little water on this days march,

after passing the 10 mile spring. A circumstance that proved very distressing to both man & beast.

The party detached on the preceeding evening, rejoined the army on its march this day, bringing with them the before named Boyles and 6 Spanish soldiers, one Sergeant included, which composed the guard at Boyles's House. The commanding officer reports that the Choctaw Indians killed a Creek Indian who lived at Boyles's.

6TH

At 6 o'clock A. M. the line of march was continued about 13 miles & halted at the distance of about 60 ch. North West of the Spanish advance Fort. Passed Boyles's House at about 1 mile. A spring on the right at 7 miles.

As soon as the order was given for halting the army Maj. Piere was dispatched, bearing a flag & communication to the Governor of Pensacola. He was accompanied by one company of Spies, three companies of Dragoons & Captain Donelsons Company of Rangers as an escort to protect the flag against any attempt which might be made by any party of Indians that might be in the vicinity of the Fort. These attended the Major until he arrived within about 20 chains of the Fort where the Troops halted and formed. The Major then selected an Escort of 6 or 8 men, displayed a large flag and advanced, having the Troops halted in line. On the Majors advancing about 250 paces along the road leading into Pensacola, the Fort fired a gun on the side next the Town which the Major states to have been understood by him as a signal for him to repair to the Fort. He left his escort and made a movement in that direction singly, bearing the flag. He had not proceeded more than about 20 paces from the Escort when a ball was fired from the Fort at the escort which passed a small distance above them, another was fired, instantly, at the party in line. The whole retreated and halted again about 200 paces further from the Fort. Here they were assailed by another ball from the Fort which passed, over, along the line & struck a few paces beyond the left wing. Another retreat was commenced

& continued until the troops were covered from the fort by the remains of Old Fort George. From this position the Major again advanced with his Flag to the old Fort, about 250 paces, and from a place where it could be seen, he again displayed said flag which as soon as discovered, drew from the fort another ball. A retreat then took place to the main body, in effecting which the party were complemented with a fifth ball from the same quarter.

The Commanding General, with a proper escort, then advanced to the old Fort. Viewed the Spanish Fort, about 20 ch. distant, and returned to the army. In the absence of the General, two other balls were fired from the fort, at some of our officers & men near the head of the Columns when they were discovered on an eminence on which the heads of columns had halted.

The army was then marched to the ground occupied by Don Galoiz at the time he besieged and took this Town from the Brittish. Within his old lines our encampment was formed near a small lake, or large Bayou, nearly west of the Town, and distant from thence about two miles & 14 miles from the commencement of this days march. From this encampment, immediately after dark, the Spanish Sergeant taken at Boyles's, was dispatched to the Spanish Governor bearing a note from the Commanding General, which was delivered, and a Spanish officer sent the same night with an answer, or communication of some kind, to the Commanding General. The officer returned the same night to Pensacola, accompanied by Maj. Piere.

NOVR. 7TH

Early on the morning of this day Maj. Piere returned to Camp and informed the Commanding General that he had failed to succeed in the objects of his mission, and had assured the Governor that the town would be entered by the army either with, or without, his permission.

By the return of Maj. Piere, information was also received that, the Brittish Frigate Sea-Hock, the Carron sloop of War, the Childress Brig and a Spanish Corvette lay opposite the Town, as near in with the shore as water would permit. That the Brittish

had embarked on the preceeding night, leaving a part of their stores on shore. That the Indians had been crossed over to the Eastern side of the Bay, in part, and to the Island of St. Rose. That he was informed that the Brittish, under the command of Maj. or Colonel, Nichols of the Marines, with a few Spaniards, occupied the Fort on the preceeding day, and that Nichols was the person that caused the flag to be fired on. I am of opinion it was the joint act of the Spanish & Brittish commanders, judging from circumstances which took place after the embarkation of the Brittish forces.

On receipt of the foregoing information, preparations were made for entering the Town and affection [*sic*] the objects contemplated in this expedition. Colonel Butler, with a competent force, and one piece of ordinance was charged with the protection of the Camp and baggage in the absence of the balance of the division.

The Town of Pensacola is situated on the North West side of the Escambay Bay extending in an oblong nearly East & West, along the Bay for about 60 chains, and from 15 to 20 ch. in breadth. It contains three streets running parallel with the Bay (exclusive of the margin, or water street, in front) which are crossed by several other streets leading from the water to the Hills which nearly, surround the Town. The largest of these leads directly to a small contemplated Fort on a Hill at about 600 paces distance, which commands the whole Town and a great part of the adjoining common. The Town lies on a plain at the foot of this-Hill, believed to be not more than 20 feet above the level of high water mark on the Bay. It is protected by several Block-Houses, calculated to rake the streets, exclusive of the Fort before mentioned, one of which is between the Fort & Town, and one other in a centre street near the Public Square, and commands the Barracks and Barrack Yard, public stores, &c. nearer the Bay. The Bay, above the Town in its ascent to the mouth of Conaker & Yellow Water bears nearly North and from the Town to the

Barankas Fort, at the entrance into the Bay, nearly a So. So. West course, distance 9 miles.

The unfriendly disposition evinced by the Governor, in his conversation with Maj. Piere, left no room to doubt that opposition would be made to the entrance of the American forces into the Town, altho' their avowed Enemies, the Indians & Brittish had been received & cherished by him, shortly before, with the utmost cordiality & friendship; consequently the Commanding General prepared to meet such an event. It was also represented that, the eastern end of the Town offered fewer difficulties in approaching the Town than any other part, as there was no Block House on that quarter, and the distance from the Fort to the Bay too great for any effectual opperation from thence.

The march commenced at 9 o'clock A. M. in the following order, to-wit, the left column was composed of Captain Bean's company of Spies in front, with orders to file off and take possession of the old Fort St. George as soon as the army had passed through the woods near it. Captn. Laval with his company of the 3rd Infantry followed by Captain Denkin & company of the same Regiment with two pieces of cannon, 12 lbrs, under his command. The balance of the 3rd Infantry commanded by Major Jos. Woodruff. A small Battalion of troops belonging to the 39th & 44 Infantry commanded by Major Piere and followed by Maj. Hind's squadron of Territorial Dragoons. The Choctaw Indians, commanded by Maj. Blue of 39th Infantry, composed the centre column, and extended from the parallel of the front piece of Artillery to a point opposite the rear of the U. S. Infantry. Colonel Williamson's dismounted Volunteer Gun-Men (part of General Coffee's Brigade) and part of Colonel Lowry's regiment of West Tennessee Militia composed the right column, of the same extent as the Centre column. The rear was closed, and covered, by Colonel Lauderdales Regiment of Mounted Gun-Men, of General Coffee's Brigade advancing in three columns. A circuitous rout of about 3 miles was pursued to the bank of the Bay, about one mile above the Town. Here the mounted Gun-Men were halted

and formed a corps-de-reserve. The balance of the columns and Maj. Hind's Corps, advanced from hence through a thicket of live-oak bushes (the Indian column from hence composing the right column & Colonel Williamson's the Centre. The U. S. Infantry & Artillery with Maj. Hind's corps as nearly along the Bay side as practicable.

On entering the Town the column on the left entered the Centre street, on which the Block House stood. Colonel Williamson, with the centre column entered the last, or next, street to the right, and the Choctaws, with Maj. Blue passed along the back part of the Town, and Houses in view of the Fort. The depth of the sand impeded the progress of the Artillery to such a degree, that the Infantry was compelled to pass it, having discovered two pieces of Artillery fôrmed in battery & manned for their reception, near the Block House. This column moved briskly on, and received three fires from these pieces before they could reach them. They immediately commenced a heavy fire or musquetry (on receiving the first from the Battery) and continued it until it reached the Battery & took possession of the pieces, and such of the party as remained at the pieces on their reaching them. A firing took place anon from a garden on the left, and from the Block, and some other, House or Houses. They were soon silenced by the fire of the column.

In this little conflict Captain Laval had his thigh shattered by a grape shot & Lieutenant Flourney had his leg broken, both by the firing of these pieces of Artillery. 3 or 4 American soldiers were also killed & some wounded. Several Spanish soldiers were reported to have been killed and wounded, the number not exactly ascertained.

At the close of this little skirmish Colonel Williamson waited on the General, who had been viewing the conflict, and informed him that the Governor had come to his column with a flag and wished to see the General, saying at the same time, that he had *surrendered*. The General immediately proceeded, with the Colonel, to the place appointed, which was at the Intendants office,

on the street the Colonel had entered by, where he was met by the Governor and several other Spanish officers. From this place the General dispatched his orders to the several commanders of his columns, to station their men at such points as he had deemed most advisable for his, and their security, and to prevent a landing from the vessels, which appeared to have been attempted in one or two instances, and which was still apprehended, as these vessels were supposed, from rumour, to have 15 or 1,600 of a disposable force of sailors, marines & Indians. The artillery formed battery on the rear of the Town in full view, & reach of the Fort, supported by the Choctaw Indians and part of the Infantry & dismounted Gun-Men & Militia. Maj. Hind's corps and the balance of this centre column, continued to occupy the street in front of the Intendants. The Regulars [held] the street in which the conflict took place, and the Barracks & Barrack Yard on the street nearer the river or Bay.

During the whole of these movements the shipping & Fort remained perfectly silent. This silence did not continue long, after the General had arrived at the Intendants. The Sea-Hock commenced a fire, and fired several shot over the Town, whether from a signal given from the Town or Fort could not be ascertained, though strongly suspected. About the same time some small armed Boats or Barges were discovered to be moving up the Bay & anchoring within reach of the shore, on which the column's had advanced to the Town. One or two of the shot fired by the Frigate had passed over the Intendants very low. At this time the Governor was absent which lead to suspicions of some Treachery which the General determined to guard against. He accordingly dispatched a party to bring the Governor, and other parties to collect all the men they could find and bring them to the same House. He then told them his suspicions, warranted as he conceived by the Governors conduct in leaving that House and the firing commencing immediately after. That they were all now on an equal footing and that they would *live and die together*. The firing from that vessel ceased shortly after. The Barges that had

ascended the Bay commenced a firing on such of the Americans as they could discover passing to and from the Corps-de-reserve, which some times happened, this firing had no effect. Lts. Call & Miller of the 3d & 44th Infantry were dispatched with one of the small pieces which composed the Spanish battery on our arrival, with which they commenced a fire on the Barges and finally drove them from their positions.

Previous to this last movement it was reported to the General that a firing was heard in the direction of the Corps-de-reserve, supposed to be the Creek Indians, then protected by the Spaniards & Brittish, and that they had not crossed the Bay, as had been stated to Maj. Piere, but held in ambush up the west side of the Bay. In consequence of this information the General ordered the Choctaw Indians and Maj. Hind's Squadron to the aid of that Corps. These Troops were fired at by the Commandant of the Fort, although he had been previously advised by the Governor of his having agreed to a Surrender of that Fort to the Americans. Two of Maj. Hind's corps were wounded & 8 of his Horses killed, one or two Choctaws were also wounded which enraged them accordingly but without occasioning any irregular conduct on their part: a very singular forbearance in savages.

On the meeting of the Governor and General at the Intendants Office, a lengthy & interesting conversation took place which embraced many serious charges of a Breach of Neutrality on the part of the Spanish Government, evidenced in the Conduct of him, the Governor, acting as their Chief Magistrate, particularly in his conduct in arming the renagade Indians of the Creek Nation, actually residing within the limits of the United States, until their recent removal from thence in consequence of the War which they had commenced against that Government, which drawn on them a necessary scourge, and which Indians were still the declared enemies of the United States. That after so arming said Indians he had suffered them to commit acts of Hostility against the Citizens of said States, and plunder their property from them with impunity, thereby placing the Government committed to his

charge, in Hostile array against the said Government of the United States, and more perfectly confirm by him afterwards in his conduct in suffering a known Belligerent power (the Brittish) to enter his ports, yielding them aid & comfort by delivering into their possession one of his Majesty's Forts for their protection & defence, and for the express purpose of enabling them to fit out expeditions from hence against the military posts & positions of said States, an evidence of which was incontrovertable in his acquiesance in the affair of Fort Bowyer when he actually permitted those very troops (the Indians) to be engaged, that he, himself, by letter dated 1st Sept., 15 days previous to said attack) had acknowledged to be troops that he had armed for the defense of his own Government. That another act of less importance also verified this charge of his breach of Neutrality, which happened on the night of the 3rd of September (three days after he had made the Indians his Majesty's soldiers) at the House & plantation of Mr. D'Olive where that took a citizen of the United States prisoner, and two negroes the property of D'Olive another citizen which he had refused or neglected to have returned, or to disavow the act. To all of which charges, and several others of minor importance, he, the Governor, could urge nothing in paliation of his offences, but a difficiency of force to preserve the Neutrality of his Government, and seemed to charge every improper act done, to the account of the Brittish who had entered the port and whose conduct could not be controuled by him for want of such force, without reffering to any part of his own acts, which were perfectly within his own controul. To all of which the General replied, in substance, that he did not consider his acts, as warranted by orders of his Government,—that they were acts that merely displayed to view his own Hostility towards his Government, but as his Government had thought proper to place the superintendent of *that* Government (West Florida) under his controul, he (the General) was determined to remove that enemy, then in the harbour, away if practicable, and secure his Government from similar injuries to those already received. That

to do this it would be necessary that he should also be indulged, agreeable to Treaty, with similar treatment to that engaged by the Brittish and that he must also be furnished the possession of a Fort or Forts to protect his men, in the same manner that indulgence had been extended towards his enemey, until he could effect the objects of his expedition to that place. That as he (the Governor) had declared his inability to protect the Neutrality of his Government, if he would agree to surrender into the hands of the Americans, the Forts at the Barrankas and on the Island of St. Rose his Neutrality should be protected until his Government should be furnished with a competant force for that purpose, when the said Forts should be re-delivered in Statu Quo to the Officer commanding such forces, for which he would pledge his Government through himself as their Commanding General in that quarter.

Being present during this conversation, I concluded, from the triffling objections made to this reasonable proposition, that it would take effect. I have understood since that an order was signed, or agreed to be, for the above purposes. I well know that an order was actually signed for the delivery of the Fort near the Town and that it was sent to the commanding officer at the fort, directing the surrender of that Fort, previous to the time the firing took place at said Fort, on Maj. Hind's Corps & the Choctaw Indians. It was understood between the parties that, three guns should be fired at the Fort, previous to the surrender, to shew that it was a Voluntary act, and not a surrender founded on compulsion—such, at least, was my understanding. Shortly after the firing before stated, it was stated that the Commanding (and other officers) at the Fort had objected to the surrender agreed on, and refused to comply with the order sent for that purpose. On receiving the above information the Commanding General immediately ordered Captain Denkin to proceed with the artillery, by the rout we had entered the Town, and gain possession of the old Fort and prepare some part thereof in such manner as to form a battery against that occupied by the Spaniards.

This order is presumed to have been founded on a determination to force the surrender, if persisted in until the succeeding day. Such a determination was too plainly intimated to the Governor to leave him in doubt. The General then left Town on his return to the encampment, leaving Major Piere charged with the arrangements that might be necessary to be made with the Governor on the Topicks under consideration. Major Woodruff & other commanders of Corps were charged with the defence of the Town against any attempts that should be made by the Brittish to land, or re-occupy that place.

On the way to the Encampment the General visitted the old Fort, and found that Captain Denkin, aided by Captain Butler of the 3rd Infantry & company, had nearly completed a work, on the ruins of that Fort, that would be commensurate with the object contemplated.

From this last place the Commanding General dispatched the Judge Advocate, Mr. Gales, to Major Piere, requiring to be informed of what had been finally agreed upon as to the surrender of the Fort and received for answer the assurance that both the Governor & Commandant of the Fort had, at length agreed to a surrender, and that the American forces might proceed to take immediate possession. In consequence of this information Captains Denkin & Butler were directed to advance with their companies & artillery and receive possession of that Fort, as agreed on. The General then returned to his Encampment with such of the forces as remained unemployed in other services.

Shortly after night an explosion was discovered & heard in the direction of St. Rose Island which was then believed (and afterwards found) to proceed from the blowing up the Fort on the end of the Island by the Brittish Troops which had been for some time in possession thereof.

NOVR. 8TH.

Early on this morning the Commanding General received information that the Fort was in possession of Captn. Butler & company of the 3rd Infantry. That Captain Denkin & his company

had not been received into the Fort, for want of room, as the Spanish Troops could not be removed at that late hour of the night with convenience. That some difficulty had arisen, also, on his arrival at the Fort, occasioned by the Commanding officer's having neglected to give the necessary information to the Officer left in charge. This inconvenience was soon obviated, and one company admitted, as before stated.

On receiving the above information the Commanding General proceeded to the Town, escorted by part of Maj. Hind's Corps of Dragoons. On his arrival it was discovered that the Brittish Armed Vessels had taken very threatening positions near the shore, and so as to rake each of three principal cross-streets. That many signals were passing, and a vessel, supposed to be the Sophia 18 gun Brig ascending the Bay from the Barankas or near it. These movements gave rise to a suspicion that the Brittish intended to cannonade the Town. They did not, however, fire any gun at it while the General remained. The Spanish colors still waived on the Fort agreeable to stipulations agreed to between the Governor & Maj. Piere, as offering a security to the Town, as against the fire apprehended. The Maj. had not been able to obtain the order for the delivery of the Fort at the Barankas nor did there appear to be any prospect of obtaining such order. The Governor pretended that the Commanding Officer would not obey such order if issued. He could not, however, be prevailed upon by either the General or Major, to try the experiment, though frequently urged so to do. The General finding it would avail nothing to urge the proposition any further, returned to his encampment by the way of the Fort, satisfied that force was the only means to be employed to obtain that possession so anxiously wished, and sought for. This possession it was plain to discover, would place the Brittish Vessels, then in port, completely under his controul, as well as preventing the entrance of others of a similar description. These were certainly objects of serious importance to the United States while in a state of War with their, then, enemy. The Barankas had been previously recon-

noitered and found to be accessible with little danger or loss. The real determination of the General on this subject I am unadvised of, but its importance was self evident.

The Fort at the Town, on examination appeared to be too contemptable for discription. It was small, old, weak and in a perfect state of decay. The side next the Town composed of thick plank set on end as a stockade, and without any other aid whatever, a flame set to any other part would burn so furiously as to consume the whole in a very short time, and could not be extinguished. It did not possess any regular form of fortification, or any tolerable lines of defence. The ground adjoining afforded places of concealment, to the attacking foe within 40 paces of the Fort, that could be occupied, without discovery, on any dark night.

About 2 o'clock P. M. several explosions took place at the Barankas, to which place the shipping had descended, which were believed to proceed from the blowing up the fortifications and magazines at that place. Two detachments were sent by different routs to ascertain the certainty of this fact and the situation in which things remained there.

NOVR. 9TH

The detachments, sent to the Barankas on yesterday, returned early on this day and reported the destruction of that place by the Brittish, who had obtained possession by virtue of an order (as supposed) issued by the Governor of Pensacola, on, or about, the 2nd Instant. That the Troops (chiefly black) belonging to the Garrison had been embarked on board the Brittish Vessels. That it was stated by persons living at the Barankas that there were a number of negroes on board those Vessels belonging to the Inhabitants of West Florida, and that the whole of the Vessels had left the harbour and were standing to the Eastward and that it was said that the Spanish Troops would be landed at the Havanna, but not believed. That the Houses on the Hill, overlooking the Fort, had been destroyed, and a store house blown up, said to contain about 300 barrels powder belonging to the Garrison. That many families were left destitute of shelter for themselves

and property, and waiting for the means of conveyance from thence.

The destruction of the fortifications at the Barankas having rendered the possession thereof of no importance to the American Government, in its then situation, The General directed the preparations to be immediately made for the return march. The principal part of the day was spent in procuring corn, flour, &c. The Brittish had left some flour, Liquor and some triffling articles on shore, when they embarked; these had been secured.

It was stated in Pensacola, that the Negroes taken from D'Olive's place on the 3rd September, were taken away by the Brittish, although captured by the Governors Indian Corps. What measures will be pursued by him to regain them and relieve the 3 Spanish sailors, confined as Hostages for the redelivery, at Mobile, is left to conjecture.

At about 4 o'clock P. M. the army commenced its return march and proceeded about 1½ miles and Encamped.

NOVR. 10TH

The army proceeded, on the return march, at 7 o'clock A. M. having first detached a strong party to Pensacola to procure a further supply of forage, and several other parties (one on last evening) of a few men for purposes unknown to me. The army Encamped at the same Encampment on which they hao halted on the night of the 5th near Boyles's, and remained for the night.

The detachment that left the army on last evening was conducted by Boyles as their guide, who has proved to be a firm friend and an active, brave partisan. His residence in this country, and knowledge of its geography, proved of considerable advantage to the Commanding General. The party with him had ariven at his House before the army reached that place, they had taken about 200 head of Black-Cattle, stated to have been plundered by the Governors Indian Corps from the Citizens of the United States principally, and driven into the neighborhood of that place for either sale or use.

Apprehensions for the safety of the person of Boyles (after conducting himself so friendly towards the Americans) was so serious as to induce the General to direct that, he be supplyed with one of the Empty Waggons, and assisted in leaving the place of his residence for some place near the boat-yard, where he had concluded to make his place of residence until he could return home with safety.

It was stated by several creditable officers, and gentlemen who had volunteered from the Tombigby settlements, that this return march, so suddenly commenced, had created uneasiness in the minds of the citizens of Pensacola who had hoped, it seemed, that the Americans would continue to occupy that place, as a military post. They stated that they had suffered considerable damage and insult from the occupancy of that place by the Brittish & Indians, who were countenanced in their rapacity & licensciousness by Nichols, who they asserted to be little better than a Brute in Human form, who rather encouraged than controuled them in every act of wanton depravity. That they expressed themselves highly pleased with the conduct of the American forces, and were truly astonished at the regularity with which the Choctaw's conducted themselves, from whom they had expected to have received much injury & abuse. That they had found them far more *decent* & correct than the *Brittish soldiers,* though savages. That they had never believed it possible for so large an Army to enter any Town, under such circumstances, without committing some outrage on the person or property of some of the Citizens, until convinced of their error by the American & Indian troops. That they expected to suffer serious injuries, addition, injuries from the Brittish in case of their return.

The two pieces of Artillery fired on us, when entering the Town, had been taken possession of, by the American forces, and were never re-claimed by the Spanish authority at that place, the proprietor was doubtful. They might belong to the Brittish, or Spaniards, as they were of French manufacture, with equal propriety, and as the latter set up no claim to them, the General

ordered them to be brought with the army. They were taken to Mobile.

It was said that the Inhabitants of Pensacola stated that the negroes taken from thence by the Brittish, amounted to about 300.

NOVR. 11TH

Proceeded on the return march at 7 o'clock A. M. and encamped at Pine Barren Creeke at the encampment of the 4th at 25 m.

12TH

Proceeded at 7 o'clock A. M. and marched 19 miles and encamped at Cochrans Cowpens, near the head of the Perdido. The fork at this place is only a branch of 8 or 10 paces wide.

13TH

Continued the return march at 7 o'clock A. M. Passed Fort Montgomery at 17 miles and march in all 19½ miles to the Boat-Yard, having compleated the expedition to Pensacola and back (a distance of 80 miles to, and from that place) in 15 days,—3 days of which period was devoted to acts, and movements, which took place at that Town and in its vicinity.

14TH, 15TH & 16TH

These three days were devoted to the arrangements, necessary to be made by the Commanding General previous to his departure for Mobile.

At this place the General received information that Brigadier General Taylor with one regiment of his Brigade from East Tennessee, and a part of Colonel Pipkin's regiment from West Tennessee from Fort Jackson, had arrived at Fort Claibourne on their march to this place. That Major Childs from East Tennessee, with about 500 volunteer Gun-Men, mounted, had also arrived at the same place, in order to join General Coffee's Brigade. Major Russell had arrived a few days ago, with about 200 Volunteer mounted Gun-Men from West Tennessee, which he had dismounted at the Cut-off and had joined the Commanding General with, near Pensacola on the evening the return march commenced, and had joined General Coffee's Corps.

The command of Fort Montgomery was therefore allotted to General Taylor, on his arrival, with his own Brigade and, perhaps, some other forces.

Major Blue of the 39th Infantry, with, Major Russels comand and several companies of General Coffee's Brigade, with Major Child's Corps, all mounted Gun-men and as many of the Choctaws as could be gotten to Volunteer, was ordered to Scout the Country on both sides of the Escambay, and its waters, in search of the Hostile Creek Indians; and that after performing this service, Major Russel with his men and the companies belonging to General Coffee's Brigade, should Scour the Country on each side of the Cauhauha river, and destroy all hostile Indians found in that quarter.

On the 16th, the two companies of the 44th and a small detachment of the 39th, newly enlisted, Infantry, descended the river for Mobile. On the same day the 3rd Infantry marched for their former station, at their cantonment on Portage Creek, three miles from the Town of Mobile. The Infantry that declined volunteering under Maj. Blue, and such of the militia as had compleated their term of service, were ordered to be dismissed. The Territorial Militia, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Perkins were ordered to repair to Mobile, as soon as possible, after the arrival of General Taylor & his forces.

NOVR. 17TH

On this day the Commanding General & suit left the Boat-Yard and proceeded to Judge Toulmans, on his way to the town of Mobile. Passed General Coffee with the Balance of his Brigade at Carson's ferry, on the Tombigby. This Brigade had been ordered to the Vicinity of Batton-Rouge on the Mississippi river, at which place considerable supplies of corn, from West Tennessee was expected to arrive about this time. This Brigade contained about from 14 to 1,600 men at this time.

The scarcity of the article of corn had been severely felt on the late excursion, which had reduced the Horses of both Cavalry & Mounted Gun-Men so much as to render them incompetent to

any immediate active service, which circumstance had, in part, occasioned this movement. Major Hind received orders, at the same time to repair to the Vicinity of Natchez and have the Horses belonging to his Squadron recruited. Each of those corps were to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice, which was then believed, would be in the direction of New Orleans, to which place the General contemplated starting shortly after his arrival at Mobile.

NOVR. 18TH

Proceeded from Judge Toulmans at 8 o'clock and halted at Chiccasaw-Bogue, or 12 Mile Creek, at 28 miles.

19TH

At 8 o'clock A. M. the Commanding General & suit proceeded to Mobile, where they arrived at about 11 o'clock A. M., distance 12 miles.

20TH

The two companies of the 44th Infantry sailed, to join their Regiment at New Orleans.

Five Brittish Prisoners were committed to the charge of the Commanding Officer of this detachment, to be conveyed to the Marshal of the State of Louisiana.

The above prisoners had been taken on board of a Schooner laden with flour, by a party of the 2nd Infantry from Fort Bowyer, in the absence of the General, on the 12th Instant. These prisoners state that this Schooner was one of several Vessels laden at Alexandria in Virginia with the plunder of that Town. That she sailed under convoy of the Sea-Hook frigate and was separated from her in a storm, as well as several others. That they were destined for Pensacola, to join the Squadron at that place.

NOVR. 21ST.

This, and the preceeding day were devoted to the duties of issuing such orders as were deemed necessary in this quarter, preparatory to the Commanding General's leaving this post, for

New Orleans, where his presence had become indispensably necessary.

The whole of the country traversed from hence to Pensacola is a continued Pine Barren, excepting only a small quantity on each side of the river and adjoining thereto, with the Cut-off Island, affording no prospect of advantage to the farmer or planter. It affords a good range for Black-Cattle and would answer well for procuring naval stores & Lumber. The face of the country is principally a plain sometimes of sandy, and at others, cold, level & swashy, particularly in the winter & spring when they are nearly covered with water several inches in depth. For several miles immediately around Pensacola, the lands are too sterile to grow the timber to any tolerable size. On each side of the Escambia, Conaker & Yellow water (all of which empty into the same Bay) it is represented that, there are some lands capable of affording tolerable good, small, settlements. The Perdido is less fertile than the Escambia waters, and only affords a few places which will admit of a tolerable plantation.

How far the waters of the Escambia will admit of boat Navigation, above Pensacola, I could not ascertain, certainly, but from the best information, about 30 to 40 miles. The Inhabitants of the Florida country generally, and particularly in, and about Pensacola, depend entirely on other states or Kingdoms for Breadstuffs and a considerable proportion of their meats. The settlers appear to be a dirty, indolent, indigent people. The Male Inhabitants of the Town are said to be all under the pay of the Crown either as soldiers, or Mechanics. Most of the residents of this province live in the Town. Those of the country reside, chiefly on the Escambia & its waters.

The Bay affords an excellent harbor & fine Anchorage for shipping. The depth of water on the Bar is stated to be from 20 to 24 feet according to the state of the Tide, which depends much on Winds. This Bay is wide and lengthy, and capable of affording shelter to from two to 3,000 Vessels of different sizes.

The Fort at the Barrankas is 9 miles below the Town, and commands the entrance into the harbor.

NOVR. 22D

The necessary orders having been issued, and other arrangements compleated, the command of this post (Mobile) was committed (with its dependencies) to the charge of Lt. Colonel M. Arbuckle of the 3rd Infantry (and senior officer in this department of the District) until the arrival of Brigadier General Winchester, whose arrival was daily expected, and for whose directions orders had been issued & left with the said commandant, or forwarded to meet him at Fort St. Stephens.

At 5 o'clock P. M. the Commanding General & suit accompanied by Maj. Piere of the 44th Infantry left Mobile and proceeded on their way for New Orleans, via Chefonta, to Page's 5 miles and halted for the night.

23RD

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M. Crossed Portage Creek at 3 miles, a small distance below its source. Passed a few triffling improvements on the road to Page's—two near his House, and one on each side of Portage Creek, at the crossing. Took a right hand road at 15 miles which leads up between Dog-River and Chickasaw Bogue. Proceeding from the fork of this road, crossed a branch of dog-river at 3 miles and another at 5 miles, and arrived at Jordons Ferry on Dog-river, at 30 miles and halted for the night.

The country passed over on this day, consisted of Poor, Pine Barren, fit only for Naval stores and stock range.

The rout from Mobile to this place is circuitous but, from the best information that could be obtained, and experiments made with a Pocket Compass, the direct course is from No. 60 to 70° West, distant about 20 miles. It is believed that a direct road might be, conveniently, opened to this ferry that would shorten the distance at least 10 miles, from that now travelled, and on ground equally firm & dry. The lands continue poor to the bank of the river.

NOVR. 24TH

Proceeded at 8 o'clock A. M. Crossed dog-river, which is about 20 paces wide, at the commencement of this days travel. This river, which the Indians call Ouskalauba, Empties into the Bay of Pasquagola, the ascent is from No. Wt. to North. It runs nearly parallel with the Mobile river, at the distance of from 20 to 30 miles from the Mobile river. It is stated to have its source about the latitude of Fort St. Stephen's—at 3 miles from hence the road forks. Proceeded on the left hand fork 5 miles, in all 8 miles, to the Federal road leading from Fort St. Stephens to Pearl river, continued along this road passing a fork to the left at 3 miles, which leads to Pasquagola river, 12 miles below Gattins ferry. Passed Evans's at 13 miles from Jordans ferry—Colonel Skinners at 15 miles and reached Gattins, on the west bank of the Chickasaw-Hay (or Chicasaw river) at from 18 to 20 miles & halted for the night.

The Chickasaw-Hay and Leaf river form a junction about 10 miles below this ferry, from whence the Pasquagola commences (formed by this junction). Gattin states that from this junction it is 109 miles by water to the Bay of Pasquagola, and that any Vessel that can enter that Bay, can be navigated as high up as the said junction. That at almost any season of the year, vessels drawing not more than 5 feet water can ascend the Chicasaw-Hay at least 130 miles above the junction, to a place called Buckatania, a creek emptying into this river, which affords the prospect of a fair settlement at no distant period. That the Leaf river can be navigated with vessels of this last description, to the distance of about 60 miles above the junction.

These two rivers are, each, about 50 paces wide at the crossings of this road. The Chickasaw-Hay is stated to water a fertile country, with a considerable quantity of rich, valuable bottom land bordering on the river, but subject to inundations in the winter & spring seasons.

The Federal road turns to the left near Colonel Skinners and

is seldom used at this day. It is probable it will fall into disuse, entirely, in a short time.

The Chickasaw-Hay and Pasquagola are settled in their full extent. Its general course is something East of North, in its ascent.

The general course from Mobile Town to Gattins, is about No. 45° West.

The lands are very poor from dog-river to Skinners, after which they are of a quality that promise to afford tolerable settlements.

On entering the Federal-Road, fell in with General Coffee's Brigade, on its way to Batton-Rouge. They arrived, and encamped at Gattins on this evening, about one-half having crossed before the Commanding General arrived.

NOVR. 25TH

Proceeded from Gattins at 8 o'clock A. M. Passed over poor lands 7 miles to Otebbayhoy Creek, thence down the creek through good lands, one mile to Hogans ferry, on Leaf river, at the mouth of said creek. Crossed Leaf river 50 paces wide, from whence it is called 18 miles to Joseth Mimms's ferry on Black-Creek, a fork of Pasquagola river. Proceeded from Leaf river about 40 ch. through good Bottom land to the high lands, on which were two improvements nearly adjoining the Bottom, and about ¾ miles from the ferry. Near these improvements, the roads fork. The left leading down Leaf river to the Pasquagola. The right to Mimms's & Evans's ferries on the before named Black Creek. Proceeded along the road leading to the right and travelled over poor, pine lands, but more level than that heretofore passed on this day. Passed Durmans stand at 12 miles. This is the only house until you reach one of the ferry's. Two roads enter this, from the right, which crosses the Leaf river at different places (or ferries) above Hogans, at the distance of 5 & 9 miles. Crossed several small streams this day. Course Travelled, nearly West the whole distance to Mimms's, where the Commanding General,

&c. arrived in the evening and halted for the night, on the East side of the Creek, at 28 miles.

NOV. 26TH

Proceeded from Mimms's and crossed Black Creek at 8 o'clock A. M. and travelled over poor, piney lands interspersed with broad, flat (reedy swamps & branches, to Fords stand where (in consequence of the excessive rains, and for the advantage of obtaining forage) the party Halted for the night.

Black Creek is about 30 yds. wide and could be Bridged to great advantage. It empties into Pasquagola below the mouth of Leaf river.

27TH

Proceeded this day at 7 o'clock A. M. Crossed Bogue Homo, Red Creek, at 7½ miles. Crossed another creek at 27 miles and Pearl river at 28½ miles. Pearl Hunts improvement at 12½ miles, from Fords stand. Hunts Improvement lies on Wolf Creek a branch of the Bay of St. Louis. Bogue Homo (or Red Creek) is a fork of Wolf Creek. At 6 miles from Hunts, passed Mrs. Waltons stand. From Hunts it is stated to be 40 miles to the Bay of St. Louis.

Crossed Pearl river at Fords Ferry and travelled 2½ miles to John Fords Fort, in all 31 miles and halted for the night.

Pearl river is commonly about 100 paces wide, but at this time 150 in consequence of the heavy rains which had recently fell. It derives its name from the numerous pearl shells that cover the bottom of this river, and give it handsome appearance in low water.

The lands on each side, at the crossing, for about one mile from the river, are excellent bottom.

From Mr. Ford, an intelligent man, I obtained the information that this river is navigable for barges from its mouth, as high up as the Choctaw agency, and for sloops and schooners only 20 miles above the mouth. This defect I apprehend to be owing to a large raft of Timber which has settled at the meeting of the

Tides and has obstructed the passage of the river for nearly its whole width. It is certain that the water is sufficiently deep above this raft, for sloops & schooners to a considerable distance.

The Choctaw agency is about 100 miles, nearly north, from Fords Fort & Ferry, and from thence to the Regalotter, at the mouth of the river, is about 70 miles. A considerable number of settlements are stated to be on Pearl river, above this place, and some few below, on each side of the river. It appears probable, from Mr. Fords information, that the uper part of this country will afford valuable settlements within the space of a few years.

This road forks at Fords Fort, the right leading towards Batton-Rouge, via Pinkneyville, it crosses the Amite river at 70 miles, passes Pinkneyville at 100 miles and reaches Batton-Rouge at 150 miles.

The nearest way to Batton-Rouge is only 130 miles but is seldom Travelled, as it is not sufficiently improved to claim the attention of the traveller. This road crosses the Amite river near Galvez Town and is very swampy in many places.

The General course from Gattins to Fords is believed to be nearly West from the best observations that could be made or information obtained.

NOVR. 28TH

Proceeded from Fords about 9 o'clock A. M. on the rout to Chefonta, on the road leading to the left. Crossed Fords Mill Creek near the House and another of his Mill Creeks at 2 miles. The widows creek at 4 miles. Jones's Creek at 6 miles. Another 2d, Jones's Creek at 8 miles. Pearsons Creek at 10 miles. Pushmatappa Creek at 11 miles. Adams's Creek at 14 miles. Peters's Creek at 15½ miles. Two forks of Coburns Creek at 17½ miles. Richardsons Branch at 19 miles & Bogue Lucy, or Black Creek, at 20 miles. There are settlements at the crossings of nearly the whole of those creeks & branches, and also above and below the crossings. On this rout there are several tracts of land timbered with a mixture of Oak & Pine that appears capable of affording Tolerable plantations, but the lands, in general, are

flat, Piney & swampy, and of small value except for the Timber they afford, which would be very useful to the mill holders if the navigation of the Pearl river was opened.

The course from Fords to Pushmatappa is nearly So. So. East & from thence to Bogue Lucy (or Black Creek) about So. So. West.

Proceeded from hence to John Alstons on Bogue-Chitty 10 ms., in all 30 miles, and halted after night.

Bogue-Chitty and all other waters crossed this day, empty into Pearl-River. This Creek (Bogue-Chitty) is about 50 paces in width and stated, by Alston, to be navigable to the distance of 40 to 50 miles above this place. He states it to be 10 or 12 ms. to its junction with Pearl river. That it unites below the Raft before mentioned and of course not subject to the same inconvenience, in its navigation, as Pearl river. It contains a narrow strip of good lands on each side and is well settled near the creek, on both sides. Big Creek is the English of Bogue Chitty, or Chitta. It is 80 miles from hence to Batton-Rouge—16½ miles to the Town of Wharton on the waters of Chefonta, and 24½ or 25 miles to Maddisonville 2 miles above the mouth of Chefonta. On this day the party had to swim three creeks.

NOVR. 29TH

Proceeded from Alston's and crossed the Creek at 6 o'clock A. M. Passed over a good piece of Bottom Land and swam a Bayou at the extreme edge at William Roses plantation at about ¾ miles. Passed the old cantonment on Little Feliah (or little Long Creek) at 11 miles. Near this place there is an excellent Saw-Mill on the same creek. Proceeded in all 16½ miles to the Town of Wharton on Big Feliah (or Big Long Creek) a fork of the Chefonta river. The Indians call both these creeks Bogue Feliah, and distinguish them by the Greater & Smaller, or Big & Little, and these names are still retained by the settlers.

Wharton is a small new Town containing but a few ordinary buildings. It is the seat of justice for the county in which it stands, and is situated at the head of navigation, on the bank of

the creek. Sloops & Schooners ply between this place and the Bridge on the Bayou St. Johns, two miles distant from the Town of Orleans. It is said to be 30 miles by water, and not more than 10 miles by land, from hence to the entrance into the Lake Ponchentrain. It is 8 miles from Wharton to Maddisonville, making in all 24½ miles from Alstons to the latter Town.

The lands from near Alstons (say from Roses) are very poor and the growth altogether pine. About 5 miles of the distance between his residence and the Cantonment has been laid nearly bare of Timber by a severe Hurricane. The lands from Wharton to the Town of Maddisonville are a mixture of Pine and Oak and contain several Tolerable farms & plantations.

The whole of this rout contains excellent range for Black-Cattle which has become an object of primary Importance with the settlers in this quarter, cattle being considered as a species of circulating medium in most of their contracts. In fact, this currency circulates pretty generally from hence to, and on, the waters of Tombigby & Mobile rivers.

From Wharton proceeded to Maddisonville & halted for the night, on the way crossed the Main Chefonta river (about 60 to 80 paces wide) at 3 miles.

It is estimated that the whole length of this river, on a direct line runing from So. East to North West does not exceed 30 miles. The Course travelled this day was about So. So. West.

The Town of Maddisonville is situated on the West bank of the Chefonta river about 2 miles from its junction with Lake Ponchentrain. This Town is small and indifferently improved. It lies about 2 miles, also, from the Navy-Yard. The only importance that can be attached to this place is, its advantageous situation as a depot for country produce destined for New Orleans, distant about 30 miles, and also from its being the most advantageous place of landing, for all travellers from New Orleans, to Tennessee, Kentucky, Mobile & the back parts of Georgia. The distance from New Orleans, via Maddisonville, is now ascertained as not exceeding 200 miles, whereas by the way of the Levey road, Bat-

ton-Rouge, Natchez, Washington, &c. is, at least, 350 or 360 miles. This disproportion is much greater to those travellers that are bound for Mobile or the Tombigby settlements, Georgia, &c.

It is evident from this statement, that the growth & prosperity of this place must eventually depend upon the whims and caprices of mankind, when it is considered, in addition, that the country around will scarcely ever be able to produce more than the necessary provision for the support of life. Great quantities of Tar-Pitch and Turpentine might be prepared for use and exportation in the adjacent country, but, I apprehend a new supply of (more industrious) settlers must first inhabit this country.

NOVR. 30TH

Embarked at 10 o'clock A. M. on board of Collins's Packet and proceeded across the lake to Fort St. Johns at the mouth of the Bayou distant 22 miles at which place we arrived about 8 o'clock P. M. From thence proceeded up the Bayou 6 miles to the Bayou Bridge 2 miles in the rear of New Orleans, and arrived at that place between 10 & 11 o'clock that night, and landed at 28 miles.

I am not able to describe the Fort St. Johns having only seen it in the Night when passing by it.

DECR. 1ST, 1814

Early this morning the Senior (and other) officers stationed at New Orleans, and a number of respectable citizens, from the city, waited on the General, accompanied by an Escort of Volunteer Cavalry, and accompanyed him (about 10 o'clock) to Fort St. Charles, where he was received with the usual salutation from the Fort, on his entrance, and retired to the Quarters of the Inspector General where he remained until Quarters were provided for himself & staff, to which he retired on the evening of the second, when he assumed the command of this department of his district.

The first days of the General's arrival at New Orleans was devoted to the acquisition of such information, upon various points,

as were deemed necessary, in order, to enable him to adopt the most efficacious plan for the defence of Louisiana, and of Orleans in particular, against threatened, and expected Invasions, by the enemy who were at this time ascertained to have reached our coast.

Field works & Batteries, it was easy to discover, would be necessary, and no Engineers had been allotted & sent to this department. Pro. Tem. appointments were necessarily to be resorted to, as being less expensive than hiring by contract. Mons. Latour who had been employed by General Wilkerson, and afterwards by Lieutt. Colonel McRea, was busily engaged in placing Fort St. Leon (at the lower end of the English Town) in a state of defence. Monsr. A. Lacarriu Latour was therefore appointed principal, and Mr. Lewis Livingston Assistant Engineers Pro. Tem. Orders for the regulation of the different departments were issued embracing also the police, &c. to be preserved by each, and such other objects as the General deemed proper and necessary. An address was also published to the Citizens & Militia soldiers & Volunteers, whose interests & property were more immediately subject to injury or spoilation from an invading foe, recommending the utmost cordiality, energy & union, in their several exertions in the common cause. As a large majority of the population were Frenchmen or their descendants, he called to their recollection the Enemy they would have to combat. That they were the natural enemies of their country & people. That it was falacious to think concord could exist between English & French citizens or subjects. He reminded them of the noble achievements of their gallant countrymen when opposing the encroachments of this vindictive people. They were urged to union amongst themselves. That they had now, to defend their dearest interests, their property, wives, children, and every thing dear to free and independent men. That the citizens of the United States from the uper country was on their way to assist them. That this was an evidence of the interest their fellow citizens of America took in preserving to them their rights & property, in now stepping forward to defend

both against their impacable enemy, whose only object was plunder and outrage.

The address had a very salutary effect in reconciling the various political (discordant) parties, and uniting them ardently in the common cause. The people of colour were almost enthusiasts in the cause of the country against the invaders.

DECR. 4TH

On this day the Commanding General & his aid-du-camp, accompanied by Commodore Patterson, the two Engineers and myself, acting as Topographical Engineer, Embarked on board one of the Gun-Boats on this station, on a visit to Fort St. Philips at Placquamine 75 miles below New Orleans. This Fort was found to be in an excellent state of defence requiring but small additions, excepting men. The Barracks consisting of wooden buildings were ordered to be prostrated. A Battery to consist of 2 32-lb. long guns was ordered to be opened in the face of the Glacis opposite the lower angle of the Fort. This battery was ordered to be so constructed as to opperate directly upon Vessels ascending the river, and obliquely until abreast of the Fort. Two other points were selected on which Batteries were to have been erected, as auxiliaries to the Fort, at the distance of 60 & 120 chain above the Fort—the lower on the opposite, and the uper, on the same or left side, with the principal works. These were not compleated previous to the attack (subsequently made) as will be seen—postia.

On the return from Fort St. Philips several points were viewed which offered advantageous situations for errecting fortifications, that would command the river, and prevent a naval expedition from effecting any important object against New-Orleans, but none (except Fort St. Philips) that did not afford, also, ample situations below them for landing an Army, and marching to the city, without being annoyed by the said Batteries. These points were altogether above point La-Hash,[1] 45 miles below New Or-

[1] Pointe-la-Hache.

leans. From thence down to Placquamine there is no good situation for fortifications, or landing & marching troops, as nearly the whole of that distance, on each side of the river is a swampy Marsh, or deep prairie almost inaccessable to a single foot-man, and much less to a body of men.

The General also visited the Cantonment near the lower end of the English Turn, where the Louisiana troops were then Encamped and had commenced erecting a line of defence from the river, back to the Swamp. A small battery was about to be erected on the river bank at the end of the line, calculated to defend the passage of the river & aid Fort St. Leon, a small distance above on the right bank. These works promissed, when compleated, to afford ample protection for the troops destined to occupy them. Fort St. Leon is the remains of an old Fort of that name and what remains of it is strongly built and might be made important in obstructing the progress of Vessels ascending the river, and, also, formidable to a land force advancing up the right bank of the river, by stretching a line of defence from the Fort to the Swamp at no great distance.

It is almost impossible for an Invading enemy to gain possession of New Orleans (with any thing like an equal force) by ascending the Mississippi, even after passing Fort St. Phillips, if proper modes of defence are persued. At the *English Turn,* in particular, a few batteries of heavy cannon errected at different points, would destroy every Armed Vessel that dared to attempt the ascent, as it is impossible to round this Turn without the assistance of different winds, the waiting for which would prove their utter destruction, as they must remain subject to the fire of one or more of the batteries, during such delay, unless a land force can first gain possession of them. This would be a difficulty not easily surmounted with any thing like an equal force, as the opposing, local, army on either side of the river have the advantage of occupying excellent places for erecting strong lines of defence runing from the river, back to impenetrable swamps. The greatest disadvantage to the local army would result from the necessity

of having an army on either side equal to the defence of the line on such side, against the whole force of the invading Enemy, without depending on the troops of the contrary sides for reenforcements, which would be too uncertain, and often impossible to be sent in due time. The most effectual means, however, of preventing invasions by way of the river will be found to result from the erection of proper, additional, strong works in the Vicinity of Plaquimine (St. Philips) situated in such manner as that the whole can act with, or support, the principal.

The Commanding General & party reached Head Quarters, New Orleans, in the night of the 9th after an absence of 6 days and making a full examination, into the strength and state of the works visited, and directing the measures necessary to their completion and defence, in case of attack, or invasion.

DECR. 11TH

On the day the Commanding General, with the field Engineers Latour & Livingston and several other Officers & Gentlemen, Visitted the pass Chef Menteur which leads out of Lake Ponchentrain into Lake Borne and fixed on a place at the Mouth of the Bayou Savage as a site on which it was purposed to errect a small battery to guard the passage and check, or prevent, the passage of the enemy through that pass, to Fort St. John. This pass is about 150 paces wide and has not more than five feet water on the bar. It is, however, a good passage for Barges of a large class. The mouth of the Bayou Savage is 24 miles from Orleans. The road from the City runs along the side of the Bayou for 20 miles of this distance. It is called the Jentilly Road. The mouth of the Bayou is about one mile above the entrance from Lake Borne into the pass. The site at the mouth of the Bayou is commanding, and the only one that could be found to answer the same purpose. From the mouth of this Bayou down to the point and across to Lake Borne in a South East direction is a Marsh Prairie inaccessable. Three miles above the mouth of the Bayou is another large Prairie which extends across, also, to lake Borne on a So. So. East direction, distant about 3 miles. This Prairie is also believed to be im-

passible by any body of men, and continues along the lake Borne so as to join the Prairie at the mouth of Chef Menteur. Lake Borne receives the Bayou Beenvence at the distance of 7 or 8 miles from Chef Menteur pass, on a direction of nearly West, South West. Although these prairies are believed to be impassable, yet serious apprehensions have been entertained that a landing would be effected in this quarter. Of course strong guards were stationed at this last place during the continuance of the Enemy in our waters. A proper knowledge of the true situation of this place it is presumed would have obviated the necessity of this measure. It will be sufficient here to observe, that no correct information could be obtained, respecting the Topography of any part of this country, even from the best informed persons of the Country, or City. It appeared that scarcely any person had made enquiry further than the limits of his own possessions, and many had failed to acquire even that knowledge, or if they possessed it, did not choose to communicate it, least it might lead to a discovery of some smuggling passage into the Lakes, from the river. Every exertion was, however, made use of to obtain correct Information.

An attempt to invade by the way of Chef Menteur along the Jentilly road would have been the most advantageous to the defenders of any rout the enemy could have attempted, as the space between the Bayou Savage & the impenetrable swamps on each side was so narrow that half the number of the defending force could have perfectly destroyed the whole army in half the distance to the city, as they could not move one mile at any time without being within the fire of an ambuscading force. The roads were too deep for the passage of artillery, and the woods too thick & brushy for the exercise of the bayonet, which circumstance would perfectly expose them to a continual fire of riflemen without a possibility of returning the fire with any effect whatever.

DECR. 15TH

Several important [steps] were adopted and enforced, after the 11th and previous to this day, which my limited informaton does

not enable me to detail correctly. One was to reinforce the garrison of Fort St. Philips, but to what extent I am not advised. General Morgan was also named by the Governor to the command of the Louisiana & Mississippi drafted Militia, and assumed his command at the Cantonment, nearly opposite Fort St. Leon. The duties of placing obstructions in the different Bayou's & canals above & below New Orleans, was given in charge to different Officers. The Bayou Bienvenue in particular to Major General Villery whose canal communicated with that Bayou, and believed to be accessible to the enemy's craft.

On yesterday a report reached the Commanding General that, a heavy cannonade was heard in the direction of the Regoletts, and on this day that report was confirmed and stated that a severe [fight] between a considerable number of the Enemy's Barges and five American Gun-Boats, had taken place, in which the Boats were captured by superiority of force, after a most sanguinary conflict. That the consequences were forseen by the American Commander of the flotilla (Capt. Jones) but could not be avoided owing to adverse winds & a strong Tide runing through the pass of the Regelotts that baffled all attempts to make retreat to Pettit Coquille although strenuous exertions had been made to effect that object, which would have placed the flotilla in a perfect state of security. A sixth Gun-Boat called the Sea-Hock which was attempting to join the flotilla, from the Bay of St. Louis, was pursued by a number of Barges and compelled her to return into the same port where she was blown up to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy. That the landing of the enemy was prevented by means of a small battery of two guns on the hill. That the party being too weak for defence at St. Louis had found it necessary to destroy the public, and Pursers property at that place and abandon the port.

It had been repeatedly stated by the Governor in his communications to the Commanding General when at Mobile that, the Integrity of the Inhabitants of New Orleans could not be relyed on, in case of invasion, and that it would require a considerable de-

gree of Energy to keep them in a state of subordination, such as the crisis demanded. On the General's arrival the same assertions were made personally by the same Governor and several old respectable American Citizens who had resided several years in this city. In addition, the Governor charged the Legislative Body, then in session, with *rotteness,* stating in substance, that a large proportion of that body (in his opinion) as well as a great number of the inhabitants would change with the current of events, whatever they might now pretend, and that many of them could easily be prevailed on to become Vehicles of intelligence to the Enemy, of passing events. This information, joined to other important considerations, connected with the defence of this Valuable Section of the United States, composed of a population drawn from all quarters of the Globe, and who were as Various in their different political feelings, opinions and interests, almost, as in their several languages, pointed out to the Commanding General the *imperious* necessity he was placed under to declare the City and its environs to be subject to, and under, *Martial Law* which was accordingly done on

DECR. 16TH

At which time the Governor was required to order into service the Local Militia *en mass,* which was according done.

Guards composed of the local Militia were ordered to be placed at all the different points believed to be accessible by an enemy in Barges or large boats, and particularly at the Bayou Bienvenue as it was the nearest large Bayou to the city, and that the said Guards should use their utmost exertions to obstruct the Navigation of all Bayou's & Canals through which boats could ascend so as to effect a landing of the Troops of the enemy in the Vicinity of Orleans or the river Mississippi. These Guards were also charged with communicating to the General, without delay, notice of any, & all, movements of the enemy which they observed, or of which they obtained information. A Gun-Boat was also sent down the river to observe the Movements of the enemy at the Ballisse, or the entrance into the Mississippi with orders also [to] forward the

communications for the General, to Fort St. Phillips, from whence a line of express boats were directed to ply as far as the point La Hashe at Duplessu's 45 miles below the city, where they would be received by a line of Vedetts and transmitted, without delay, to the Commanding General, wherever he might be. Fort St. John's & Petit Coquille were reinforced. Dispatches were sent to General Coffee & Major Hind to march their several corps immediately to Orleans. A dispatch was also sent to meet Maj. General Carrol who had notified the General of his departure from West Tennessee with nearly 3,000 men of his Division, part of the 5,000 required by the General Government in aid of this state & Mobile, and who were believed to be at this time on their way near Batton Rouge.

DECR. 18TH

A corps of the people of colour, consisting of five companies commanded by Lt. Col. Fortier, march on yesterday under the immediate command of their Major, Lacoste, for the purpose of occupying the post on Chef-Menteur, at the Mouth of the Bayou Savage, heretofore guarded by a company of Louisiana Volunteer Mounted Gun-Men.

On this day I was ordered to the same point, with the Assistant Engineer (Livingston) to assist in laying out the Fort, or battery, intended to be errected at that place, to command the pass, and in directing the Commanding Officer (Lacoste) as to the mode of errecting the same. The Major's command had been furnished with two Brass Field pieces, to be used by them until 12 lbrs. should be sent, which would be done as soon as the Fort was prepared to use them with effect. The duty assigned, being compleated on the 19th, the Assistant Engineer and myself returned the same night to New Orleans.

At this time there were a considerable number of Boat-men from the uper States & Territories at this place (New Orleans) who tendered their services through Captain Robert Sprig and were received. Captain Sprig, by order of the General, Organized a very efficient Company, and the balance, with others that arrived

subsequently, were organized into a company by another commander of a Boat at this place. These two companies, in our great dearth of force, was considered as a Valuable acquisition, as well on account of the additional strength acquired, as the known activity & bravery of this description of men. A Volunteer Troop of cavalry was organized, about this time, by Captain Peter Ogden, a merchant of this city, and a Valuable Riffle Company, composed of the most promenant characters in the City, by Captain Beal. Judge Lewis of the city volunteered, as a private in this last company. The only character of that description who deigned to honor the fields of battle with his presence & efforts in defence of his Country.

Major Waltie H. Overton of one of the Rifle Corps, arrived about this time from Nashville, Tennessee, on furlough. On discovering the situation of the country, he solicitted an immediate command, which was granted him by placing him as commanding Officer at Fort St. Philips, to which place he repaired without delay. This proved to be a judicious situation to the command of that important post.

DECR. 22D

On the evening of yesterday General Coffee, with a part of his corps arrived at his camping ground, 4 miles above the city, having travelled a distance of about 150 miles in 36 hours.[1] The balance of his Corps arrived early this day, having reached within 10 miles last evening. Major Hinds also arrived this day with his Squadron of Mississippi Cavalry, and in the evening, had the pleasure of finding that General Carrol had also arrived with his force and encamped, near General Coffee's Brigade. General Carrols forces amounted, as said, to from 2,500 to 3,000 in about 30 days from Nashville on the 22d day of November Ult.

These additional forces authorized a confident hope of defending the city & country against the effect of the threatened

[1] Tatum is mistaken. Coffee took a little more than three days to reach New Orleans and the distance was 135 miles, as his own letters show. See Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 170.

Invasion, and is believed to have made *Firm friends* of a number that were wavering, in a great measure.

The Kentucky forces, ordered for the defence of this city, was now anxiously expected to arrive, but no intelligiance, to be relied on, could be obtained respecting their movements. Arms, also, notified to be on the way from Pittsburgh, could not be heard of, and the Local Militia had scarcely any other arms but fowling pieces to depend upon for defence. The arsenels were empty and no prospect of a supply, save only from the arrival of this Tardy Agent from Pittsburgh, which he had left about the 3rd of November, as advised.

About this time the Barataria Pirates, as they are called, prayed for liberty to step forward in defence of this Country, and only required personal security and the influence of the Commanding General, The Governor & Legislative body in procuring a pardon for those who should give efficient aid in said defence. This was agreed to, and the promise of influence on the behalf of such, pledged. By this means a number of brave defenders were acquired and some extra arms obtained from their depots.

The Legislative body also (about this period) passed an act *laying an Embargo,* and authorized the *empressmen of seamen* on board the public armed Vessels, which was carried into execution and a number of seamen obtained by this means, which would not be otherwise obtained. The necessity for such an act as this, will evidence the propriety, and necessity of enforcing Martial Law, in a situation so precarious and uncertain, and at a period so alarming as the present & passed time is & was at the date of that declaration.

Information was received about this time that the Enemy's Vessels had Entered Lake Bourne and were seen passing the entrance of Chef Menteur and bearing around the point, in the direction of that part of the lake that received the Bayou's Bienvenue & Phillipon, and that the Troops of color were apprehensive that a landing could be effected that would cut off their retreat to the city. They were therefore permitted to retreat to the vicinity of

La Fair's old place at the prairie, 3 miles in the rear of their, then, position, from whence they were directed to reconoitre the Ground between that position and the Lake, in every direction and notify their discoveries to the Commanding General, especially to give immediate notice of any attempt of the enemy to effect a landing.

DECR. 23D

Between 2 & 3 o'clock P. M. on this day the Commanding General received information, by Maj. Latour, that the enemy had effected a landing on the Bayou Bienvenue, and had arrived at Major General Villery's, on the Mississippi 7½ miles below New Orleans. He immediately prepared to meet them and give them battle and about sunset commenced his march for that purpose accompanied by the following corps, to-wit—The 7th & 44 U. S. Infantry. Lieutt. Spotts's command of Artillery with 2 other Brass Field pieces. A small party of Major Carmacks Marine Corps. Major Planchas[1] Corps of Uniform Volunteers of New Orleans. Major Darquins corps of Volunteer men of colour. Brigadier General Coffee's Volunteer Mounted Gun-Men from West Tennessee. Major Hinds Squadron of Mississippi Territorial Dragoons. Captain Beal's company of Volunteer Riffle men of the City and a small detachment of Captain Griffiths Volunteer Mounted Gun-Men of Louisiana Amounting, in the whole, to, not more than, 1,800 *men,* Commissioned & Non-commissioned officers, staff, musicians & privates included. On arriving within field Artillery distance of the enemy's Encampment, and near the House of Colonel Lerond the corps were formed for action in the following order, viz: The Marines were incorporated with the company of Artillery and formed in the Levey Road on the right of the line. One company of the 7th Infantry was also formed in the road in advance of the Artillery. The balance of the 7th displayed to the left in nearly a right angle with that part of the river. The 44th on the left of the 7th and in the centre of

[1] General J. B. Planché's name was frequently misspelled. Parton himself has it "Planché."

the right wing of the enemy. Major Planchus & Darquins corps united under command of Planchu on the left of that wing which compleated the line of Infantry. General Coffee proceeded from the left of the Infantry to the rear of the enemys Encampment and formed in a line nearly perpendicular to the left of the right Wing, having his right about 4 or 500 paces in advance of the line of Infantry, which space was covered by the Mississippi Dragoons and Captain Griffiths detachment in advance of said Dragoons. Beals riffle-men on the left of the Brigade. Commodore Patterson descended the river in consort on board the Carolina Schooner Capt. Handley, Commander, mounting 6 Guns at the same time, and arrived shortly after, that the land forces marched to the point of formation.

It was understood between the General & Commodore that the action should commence as soon as the Caroline had reached her destination. That her fire should be the signal. That as her fire would be in the direction of General Coffee's position she was to cease hers as soon as the General commenced his fire.

At about 8 o'clock P. M. the Caroline reached the point of destination and commenced a brisk and galling fire on the Enemy as they lay encamped at a short distance. Considerable confusion took place in his lines for a short time, and until his fires were extinguished. A firing of musquetry was then commenced on the Caroline, and three Rockets were also discharged at her but without injury to Vessel or crew. A simultaneous movement of the Infantry took place. The were met at the distance of about 200 paces by the enemy when the 7th became warmly engaged for a short time. They advanced as soon as it was discovered that the enemy had attacked at long shot halting and firing occasionally until the whole line had advanced about 300 paces when the 7th & 44 were both attacked and the advance of the Artillery. Battery was formed by the Artillery and several shot fired. The several haltings of the 7th had placed the 44th in advance, owing to the thickness of the smoke that prevented them from seeing the situation of each other. The river had also inclined to the left in

its descent which obliged the 7th to oblique in that direction which threw the left of that regiment in rear of the right of the 44th. Planchu's command had been rather Tardy in its movements and had fell in the rear of the 44th some distance, and partly in rear of the 7th. About this time a heavy [fire] was commenced by the enemy and a charge to gain possession of the artillery. This charge was met by a counter charge in support of the artillery directed by Colonels Butler & Piatt of the General Staff which was attended with success, and the enemy driven both from their charge and the positions they occupied behind a fence and ditch that had covered them for some time. The moon shone on the back of the enemy and gave them a decided advantage in discovering our situation, when it was difficult to see them from our lines. This disadvantage operating with the confusion & derangement of our lines, which had placed our corps in danger of a fire from each others line, and Captain Griffith having also advanced so as to get compleatly in front of the 44th and subjected his party to their fire for some time. The Commanding General conceived it to be most advisable that these corps should return to the ground of their original formation and there form the line anew, which was done without annoyance of any kind from the enemy.

On the Infantry's ceasing their fire & retiring from the field of action General Coffee's command was ascertained to be closely engaged, which could not be ascertained whilst the firing continued on the uper line. The Caroline had also ceased her firing for some time. The firing of the Volunteer line appeared to extend all along the rear of the Enemys line and below the left of their encampment. The action appeared to be warm on both sides as far as we could ascertain. It continued nearly one hour after the Infantry had retired. The firing then ceased and General Coffee shortly after returned and formed neatly in a line with the Infantry, on its left Wing.

On the arrival of General Coffee it was ascertained that the enemy's line of encampment extended nearly a half mile on the river. That he had approached the rear very close and had had

a severe conflict with them, with some loss on his side and considerable (as supposed) on the part of the enemy. That his command and the riffle company, on his left, had taken from 63 to 66 prisoners, amongst which was a Major (Mitchel) and some other officers. That the darkness of the night, occasioned by the smoke and stillness of the atmosphere, had so far confused both parties engaged that it became difficult for either to distinguish his own distinctly, in consequence whereof many on both sides were killed and taken who would probably have escaped under different circumstances. That the left of that line, with the riffle men, had closed to the river below the enemy, but that finding the Infantry had ceased their fire, and that the confusion which had taken place in the dark rendered further efforts precarious, and even dangerous, he had thought it most advisable to retire to the ground he then occupied. Ascertained the situation of the Infantry and obtained further instructions from the Commanding General. It was also stated that in several instances the enemy appeared to have gained the rear of his line, having been led astray by the darkness that prevailed, and were endeavoring to regain their position by the firing in other parts of the line.

(Note.) It has been since ascertained that additional forces arrived from the Bayou during the action which (probably) were the forces above mentioned.

In this action our Loss in killed, wounded & missing is stated at 213 Total. Lieutenant Colonel Lauderdale, Captain Pall and Lieutt. Brooks, of General Coffee's Brigade, and Lieutenant McClellen of the 7th Infantry were among the killed. By the returns it appears that only 24 Officers & soldiers were killed, 115 missing and the balance wounded. 38 Rifflemen, not included in the returns, were either killed or taken by the enemy.

Whilst the action was progressing orders were sent to Major General Carrol, of the West Tennessee Militia, to march one thousand men of his Division to the field of action. They arrived shortly after the new line was formed by the Infantry after they had retired to their Ground of formation.

General Carrolls command had been ordered, with the Local Militia and some other forces, to a position near the Bayou Bridge at the fork of the road leading to the Chef Menteur, to guard against any diversion made from that quarter, on the city, as apprehended by some, and in particular by the Governor, who continually rode his hobby on that rout, and accompanyed the Troops ordered to that ground.

The night became dark, foggy and extremely cold by the time General Coffee returned, and the arrival of General Carrolls forces, which induced the General to occupy the same ground until the morning of the

24TH

When the Commanding General refflected upon the importance of the trust committed to his charge including, not only the defence of this section of the United States, as a member of the Union, but the City of New Orleans, the Grand depot of the Western States and most of the Maritime Towns in the United States. That the Wealth now deposited in this City ready for exportation was immence, exclusive of the local wealth of the Citizens of Louisiana. That one imprudent, unsuccessful step would terminate in the ruin of thousands and enrich a Vindictive enemy by the accumulation of immence Booty (a primary object with them) he determined to take possession of, and fortify any strong position which would cover the City & Country above, until he could the better ascertain the strength of his adversary, and the extent of his plans of operation. For this purpose, early in the morning he caused his army to fall back behind an old Mill Race near the Dwelling of a Madame McCarty, about two miles nearer the city. Major Hind's Squadron of Dragoons and a few other troops were left at the house of Colonel Lerond to ascertain the different movements of the enemy and notify the Commanding General from time to time of such discoveries as he could make as to the intentions of the enemy, the reinforcements he received, his probable numbers and situation of his Encampment and disposition made of his force.

The Canal, behind which the army retired, was large, and stretched from the river (nearly at right angle) a considerable distance into a thick, and almost, impenetrable swamp, which commenced at the distance of about 600 yds. to the left of the river. On the uper side, and on the bank, of this Canal a Breast Work (or parapet) was commenced, and its erection prosecuted with great ardor, and calculated to extend a distance of about 800 yards to the left, from the river, and extending about 200 paces into the swamp. Proper banquets was errected to every part of this line of defence, and batteries constructed at such places on the line as were deemed proper, according to the number of Ordinance that could be spared to this work. The work commenced on the same day the army arrived at its position; and progressed with such rapidity as to become formidable in three or four days although the four [*sic*] was weak.

Lieutenant Colonel Elliot of the Volunteer Gun-Men, on this morning, proceeded, with a detachment from the Brigade, to a field near the enemy's lines and collected, and brought off, a number of the Horses belonging to the Brigade, without molestation. They had broken loose during the action, and could not be collected on the retreat on account of the darkness of the night, and having strayed into a field of sugar cane that concealed them from the search of their owners.

Several crevices were opened in the Levey as the army retired which covered the swamp on the left, and a considerable part of the open ground in front of the line with water from the river. This inundation gave strength to our works in its infant state, and had the river continued at its then height, would have proved advantageous throughout the siege. The advantage was enjoyed about one week, by which time the works were compleated.

25TH

It was ascertained on this day, that the enemy (on yesterday and on this day) had been reënforced to the number (as believed) of from 2 to 3,000 men and a few pieces of field Artillery. On the part of the defenders they were still busied in extending and

strengthening their lines. General Carrolls Division, with the exception of a few, were ordered to the line. The enemy still continued to occupy their first position without shewing any disposition to advance, even upon our advance, which was not more than 4 or 500 paces above the uper part of their encampment.

26TH

The Commanding General, on withdrawing General Carrols Division from the Local Militia, had permitted part of one of his regiments (Col. Cockes) to remain with the troops under the command of the Governor. Captain Sprigg with his Company of Boat-Men was also attached to that command, and on last evening one Regiment of General Coffee's Brigade were ordered to join that command for the present. The Governor had received orders to explore the road leading to Chef Menteur and to select & fortify some strong defile and Guard that road against attempts of the enemy, he apprehended, from that quarter. Two pieces of field Artillery under the command of Lieutt. Bosque had been attached to that command, on the night of the 23rd. General Toledo, who had volunteered his services, undertook to be the Governors Engineer and instructor in the nature of positions proper for defence, which he appeared capable of selecting with great judgment. He executed this duty with great propriety. His lines were laid out with judgment and executed with considerable dispatch and strength.

27TH

The schooner, engaged in the action of the 23rd had crossed to the opposite shore, and had continued in her position, on that side, until this morning, when she was attacked by a heavy fire of heated ball from a battery errected, and mounted on the preceding night. Several of these shot pierced her side, one of which reached her Magazine, set her on fire and blew her up. She sunk shortly after. Her Ammunition had been nearly expended. Her crew got on shore safe, before the explosion, and two of her gun's were thrown on shore by it, and saved.

It had been ascertained by this time that the enemy had no intention of making an excurtion by the rout of the Chef Menteur road. The forces therefore, under the command of the Governor were ordered to fall back to the Vicinity of the Bridge on Bayou St. Johns, after detaching a command of about 250 men to relieve Major Lacosts command at La Fons on the Bayou Savage, to guard against any diversion the enemy might be tempted to make in that quarter. Captain Spriggs's Company was ordered to reinforce Fort St. John at the mouth of that Bayou. The Local Militia took a position on the rear of Marigna's Canal near the Bridge, and the Detachments from Carrolls & Coffee's Corps rejoined their several regiments on the lines. Major Lacosts Battalion arrived and took post on the lines in the evening. A part of General Villery's division of Local Militia arrived, also, on this day and took post in the rear, at Madame Dupree's Mill Canal. Colo. Dejeans Regiment (part of that Division) was stationed near Madame Prainasses Canal, about half a mile in rear of the line of defence and at about half distance between Dupree's & the said line.

Both of the above Canals are Occupied as Mill seats, and extend from the river to a considerable distance within the swamp and disemboge their waters into those of the Bayou Bienvenue, as does that on which the line of defence was errected.

28TH

The line of defence runs from the river at right angles on a course 30° East of due North (variation 9° Wt.) and extends in all, about 1,400 paces. Nearly 450 paces of this distance, on the left is covered by swamp, almost impenetrable, leaving the balance open to the view of the enemy in front, although a part is still covered by a swamp with small brush wood & sedge grass. At the distance of about 520 paces from the line, on the Levey road a large Ditch commences which extends from the road, towards the left nearly 1,000 paces inclining towards the line of defence so as to bring the extreme end to the distance of about 400 paces from said line, where it connects with a double Ditch which runs in a direction nearly perpendicular from the lines of defence and

southeastwardly. Another large Ditch takes its departure from the levey road at the distance of about 640 paces from the line of defence, and extends in the same direction, and empties itself into the same perpendicular Ditches of the former, at the distance of about 550 paces from the line of defence. The perpendicular Ditch is bordered with a post & railed fence that extended from near the line to the second or furthest ditch, and from thence in nearly a right angle to the thick swamp. The brushy part of the swamp commenced immediately below the double Ditch. From the first Ditch in advance of the line, to a considerable distance below, on the direction of the river, the fields are covered with a rank sedge grass which compleatly covered the second Ditch from the view of persons on the line, except where a few bushes had grown up and pointed out its situation & direction. At the junction of the second, and perpendicular, or double Ditch, the Swamp bore to the left in a circular direction, and gave room to Bienvenue's and other plantations, to extend from the river nearly two miles, and opened a northeast view to that distance, and an East, North East View to a much greater distance. At about 1,200 paces below the lines the river (in its descent) bore gradually to the North of East which placed the Houses and plantations, on the river, and the river itself, in view of great part of the lines, to the distance of about 4 Miles, on each side of the river, below our position.

On this morning before sun rise, the enemy were discovered to be in motion, and advancing towards our lines. They advanced in three columns; one by the way of the Levey road which halted near Browns House & Bienvenue's,[1] distant about 120 chain from the lines. The second in a Central position between the first & third, and the third towards our left and on reaching the head of the double Ditch advanced on its lower side, under cover of the Post & railed fence and halted, in column at the distance of about 100 paces in advance of the first ditch (since described, as the line of demarkation). The second, or centre column displayed and took

[1] Eventually Tatum makes the name of the bayou stand for the name of the owner of the plantation adjoining the head of the bayou, Villeré.

possession of the second Ditch. Having gained these several positions, the column on the Levey road commenced a brisk fire from a few 4, 6 & 9 lbrs. and also threw a few Rockets, but with little effect. This attack was answered by a brisk and well directed fire from the few batteries we had then in readiness. Two light parties detached at different times and some warm skirmishing ensued. The last of these parties amounted to 200 men commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henderson, of General Carrols division, and consisted of two companies of Riffle men. The object of this sortie was to approach the outer column of the enemy, under cover of the fence, and endeavor to cut off a part of the column, whilst the Batteries, by a cross fire, prevented the column displayed from advancing, and galled the rear & centre of the column attacked. Whether the Colonel properly conceived the order given (verbally) or not, cannot now be ascertained. Certain it is that, instead of advancing under cover, he obliqued to his right and formed his party near the first Ditch and fronting the enemy in the second at least 100 paces to the right of the column he was to have attacked, and immediately in the range of the fire intended from the batteries. In this position he was attacked both in front & flank. This attack was repelled with great bravery but, as may be presumed, with little effect, as his fire was altogether directed against the party covered by the Ditch. The skirmish was short, the Colonel being killed after a few rounds and three of his men shot down nearly at the same time. A retreat was instantly commenced and effected without further loss. One of the men who had fallen in this conflict was discovered to be alive, shortly after the retreat was effected. He arose three times and attempted his escape, on the third attempt he kept on his legs and made towards the lines under a heavy discharge of musketry from the enemy. Major Simpson & Capt. Collins, of the division, discovering this attempt of the wounded man, leaped over the works, crossed the Ditch and ran to his assistance, accompanied by one or two privates. They reached the wounded man and conveyed him to the lines in safety under a most Tremendous discharge from the enemy's line and the

column on the flank. It was as great an act of bravery as was witnessed on the lines during the siege.

The firing from our Batteries (which we had been constantly increasing in number) put a compleat stop to any further advance of the enemy. It was continued until about 3 o'clock P. M. when the enemy retreated in great haste and in some apparrant confusion. The third Column retired & formed in line, out of reach of our cannon, and covered the retreat of the displayed (or centre) column. The other column retreated by the Levey road by which rout they had advanced.

The enemy now formed their encampment in view of the lines of defence at the distance of about 2 miles resting their left on the river and extending in a line from thence nearly parrellel to with the line of defence, keeping up a strong Picquet at Bienvenue's & Browns Houses and one Regement in the sugar House of the former. This Picquets occupied the grounds near the river from a distance of from 40 to 60 chains below the American line. They were covered from our view by enclosures of orange trees around the gardens at Browns & Bienvenue's and a few lofty trees & some other under Growths, In these gardens, &c. The Picquets threw up works, under cover of which they secured themselves from the effect of our fire. Their sentries were covered in the day by consealment in the numerous small Ditches on the Ground and behind old houses that screened them from our view.

Our line of Piquet Guards, consisting of three parties, were stationed at about half distance between the lines & nearer Ditch and the line of sentries at half the balance of distance from thence to the same Ditch, in a line extending from near the Levey road to the swamp.

Comodore Patterson, with his usual alacrity, had sent the ship Louisiana to our aid, as soon as he was apprized of the enemy's advance. She anchored nearly opposite our line and kept up a brisk, well directed fire until the enemy retreated.

Our Loss on this day, taken from the returns, was one Lieutenant Colonel (Henderson), 1 sergeant and 5 privates killed. 1

Lieutenant, 1 sergeant & 6 privates wounded. The bodies of the Lt. Colonel and men that fell with him, was recovered and brought into our lines as soon as it was Dark. Major Carmack of the Marines, also wounded in his hand.

Three Brittish Deserters came into our lines, at different hours, on this night, who all agree in stating their loss in the action of the day, at about 152. They also state that on the 24th the killed men of the preceding night were not all collected & buried, with all their exertions. Lieutenants Crawley & Norriss, of the Navy, also state that on the 24th they could discover, from the mast-head of the Caroline, then opposite the enemy & field of action, that carts were in motion from morning until night, hauling in the killed and wounded. These deserters state the force of the enemy which had arrived at camp, at 7,000 men.

Commodore Patterson, about this time, suggested to the General the advantages that would result from the errecting batteries on the Levey on the right bank of the river, which he had examined, and tendered his services for that purpose. The General highly approved of this plan, as it afforded an opportunity to enfilade the enemy's Encampment and would prove of great advantage, in annoying the enemy in all his movements near the river. He immediately ordered General Morgan (who had crossed to St. Leon) with a considerable proportion of his Command to march up and cover the operation of the Commodore, assist in errecting the batteries and, to throw up a line of defence, at some proper place, to cover his command. These arrangements were soon compleated and several batteries errected mounting one and two Guns each some of which were 24 lbrs., the balance 18, 12 & 9 lbrs. These batteries were errected at different places and extended nearly a mile from the upper to the lowest. Furnices for heating ball, was errected at some in order to destroy the houses on the left bank, that incommoded our opperations. Brown's House was soon destroyed by this means and a number of attempts made upon Bienvenue's Dwelling & Sugar Houses, but without success, as the enemy occupying them, extinguished the fire when-

ever they discovered our shot to have taken effect, for which purpose, it is said, they kept wet blankets in constant readiness. The flank of the enemy's encampment and the Picquet Guards, near the river, were considerably annoyed by these batteries, as well as from a well directed fire from our own lines and the ship Louisiana.

A number of negroe men were now procured from the citizens, to ease the labour of the soldiery and preserve their health and activity for more important service. These negroes were divided and allotted to the different corps on the lines. And another large party was collected, and placed under the direction of a Monsr. Latrobe, an Engineer, engaged as an assistant by the Commanding General for the purpose of constructing and erecting a line of defence in reserve, at Madame Dupree's Mill & Canal about one mile in the rear of the principal line. This line was immediately commenced, and progressed with great rapidity & strength. A Demi Bastion on the right (at the Levey) raked the Canal in front of the Breast Works and played obliquely across the plane, from the Embrazures in its base; and on the levey and obliquely over the plane from those in its face. Another Battery was errected at the commencement of the swamp, at the distance of about 600 paces, which formed a cross fire with that on the Levy. A strong Bridge was thrown over the canal a few paces below the Demi Bastion by which it was protected, as also by another Battery errected on the lower works of the Mill, about 40 paces below the Bridge. The waters on this canal were from 5 to 6 feet deep, with a strong line of defence on its uper side. General Villery's command occupied this line, and furnished the necessary Guards in, and along, the swamp for its security & protection.

The front line (at the place now called Camp Jackson) on the 28th was occupied, from right to left by the following corps, Viz: 7th Infantry, commanded by Maj. Piere in the absence of Major Nix. Major Planchu's Battalion of Uniform Volunteers. Lieutenant Colonel Fortiers battalion of the people of Colour, com-

manded by Major Lacoste. Major Dacquin's Battalion of Volunteer Men of Colour, and the 44th Infantry commanded by Captain Isaac L. Baker, senior captain. These corps composed the right wing of the line, under the command of Colonel George T. Ross of the 44th United States Infantry and senior field officer present. Major General Carrolls Division of West Tennessee Militia occupied the left wing. Captain Beal's Company of Rifflemen, occupied the line between the river and battery No. 1, under the command of Captain Humphrey of the corps of artillery. The balance of the batteries to the left of No. 1 were commanded by Artillery & Navy officers—Dominick of the Baratarian party—Colonel Perry of the Quarter Master Generals department, and one battery by Brigadier General Garrick M. Flojacque, a member of the assembly, then sitting, and Brigadier General of the District of Attakapas who volunteered his services (having no other command at hand) in preference to remaining (like his colleagues) an idle spectator of passing events. General Coffee's Brigade and the other, different, corps of Dragoons & Mounted Gun-Men, were encamped in reserve ready to yield support to any part of the line where their services might be required.

In this situation the line remained (with little variation) until the morning of

JANUARY 1ST, 1815

When it was discovered that the enemy had, on the preceding night, errected three batteries. One near the extreme end of the furthest Ditch—two others, nearly adjoining each other, in a central position between the former and the river, and near the same Ditch. Also another, and fourth, battery on the Levey & Levey road about 100 paces below the head of the Ditch and near the corner of Browns enclosure. The enemy had manned the Ditch that lay immediately in front of these batteries, and one other Ditch about 30 chain in the rear of the Batteries. A column on the levey road halted near the main body of guards in the vicinity of Brown's & Bienvenue's Houses. These preparations evinced a disposition in the enemy to attack our lines. Preparations were

according set on foot to guard against their movement and defeat them in their plans, whatever they might be. One Regement of General Coffee's Brigade was marched to the edge of the swamp, a small distance in the rear of the left of the left wing and formed, with Colonel Dejeans Regement en potence, to prevent the enemy from turning that flank, should they be able to penetrate the swamp on the left of our line of defence. The other regement of that Brigade still occupied its former position about 300 paces in the rear of the centre of the said lines. Major Hinds Dragoons remained, also, at their position nearly in a range with the buildings near the Levey, and in line with the former regement.

At 10 o'clock A. M. the enemy commenced their attack by a heavy discharge of Ball, grape & shells, from a number of 4, 9 & 18 lbrs. and one or two Howitzers, accompany with showers of congreve Rockets. This discharge was met with great spirit and zeal on the part of the defenders, by an incessant fire of Ball, Grape & shells from their batteries. I had never before witnessed so severe a cannonade for the time it lasted, as on this occasion (even in the 6 weeks siege of the City of Charleston, in 1780) the firing was, almost, without intermission on both sides for nearly three hours. The Batteries of the enemy near the Centre and on the Levey road were compleatly silenced by one o'clock P. M. and that on the enemy's right about 3 o'clock. The firing from the central & Levey Batteries were directed principally up and along the levey, and at the House of Madame McCarty, occupied by the General as his Head Quarters. This building was considerably injured by the enemy's Ball. Little, or no injury was experienced from the Rockets & shells, excepting the destruction of one casson blown up by the explosion of one of the shells. The fire from the battery on the right of the enemy, appeared to be directed, principally against the Regement of Coffee's Brigade, in the rear, which was immediately ordered to join and form with the balance of the Brigade, near the swamp. This Regiment had one serjeant killed and a few horses wounded. They received no other injury.

Shortly after the Batteries were silenced the enemy retreated from the left of their front line, and the whole of their rear line, with great speed & confusion.

During this action, the batteries on the right bank of the river, kept up a constant fire on the column near the Levey, and enfiladed the rear line of the enemy & their camp severely. The ship Louisiana was also placed in a distant position and aided considerably in annoying the enemy on the left of their front line, and the battery on the Levey road.

The Loss of the enemy on this occasion must have been considerable. Deserters state it to be from 140 to 200 men. Many dead bodies were discovered, after the retreat, at and near the batteries. The retreat of the front line was completed after night, and these discoveries were made on the next day. A number of Ball, Grape, Spades, Shovels & picks, and a few Barrels Powder fell into our hands, which they had not time, or means, to remove. 8 or 10 pieces of ordinance (in part destroyed) fell into our hands from the same cause.

The loss on our side, as reported to the Commanding General is 1 sergeant & 10 privates killed—1 Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants and 20 privates wounded—Aggregate 34.

In the course of the week, commencing with this day (Sunday) several skirmishes of small consequence took place between small parties of our sharp shooters and the enemy's Guards, as our partizens were endeavoring to reconnoitre the Batteries, and the ground in their rear. Some additional preparations were also made for defence. The Brigade of General Coffee took post in line, on the left of General Carrolls Division & extended the line on the left, in an obtuse angle, which was manned as a cover to the left flank of the line. Colonel Dejeans Regiment, and other forces, were ordered to the right bank of the river to reinforce General Morgans command.

The Kentucky requisition, under Maj. General Thomas arrived on the 4th and were encamped between Madame Plarnasse, and Madame Dupree's Canals. These Troops, as well as the Local

Militia, were very badly armed. Many of the arms brought by these Kentucky Troops were unfit for service, and many of the men were destitute of any, nor could they be obtained at this place, as the arsenal had been exhausted in supplying those who had previously arrived. One Regiment (Col. Slaughters) with the best of the arms was encamped in reserve, a short distance in rear of General Carrolls line. General Thomas was sick, and incapable of doing duty; The Command therefore, of those Troops devolved upon Brigadier General Adair, Adjutant General of this division.

Information was received early this week that several of the Enemy's armed Vessels were ascending the Mississippi and were approaching near the Fort of St. Phillips. That 2 of those Vessels were Bombketches. Shortly after receiving this Information the attack on that Fort was distinctly heard at the lines. Several dispatches were received by the General from thence, from time to time, giving favorable statements of the defence made by the Garrison. The Bombardment appeared to be incessant and created considerable anxiey for the fate of the post, although the utmost confidence was placed in the bravery & Talants of the Commanding officer (Maj. Overton) and the bravery and activity of the officers & soldiers under his command, as also in Lieutenant Cunningham of the Navy, who, it was understood, had hauled his Gun-Boat into the Bayou Placquimine, and taken charge of the battery on the Glacis, mounting two 32 lbrs. It was much feared that the fuses &c. furnished for the 15 Inch Mortar of that place might prove deficient, as well as the Bombardiers, for want of sufficient practice in its use & management.

A strong battery on the left bank of the river, a small distance below the Fobourg Marigna had been commenced early in the week, in aid of Fort St. Charles, in case the Enemy should make good their ascent on the river. From this Fort a line of defence was extending on the left, to the swamp. The whole progressing as fast as circumstances would permit, under the direction of the principal Engineer (Maj. Latour).

The enemy had plundered Bienvenue's Sugar House of a num-

ber of Hogsheads of Sugar which were taken to the Levey and converted into a battery from whence several shot were exchanged with our batteries on the right. The materials did not answer the end proposed, and the battery was silenced in a short time. Some others were errected near the same place but did ours no essencial injury.

On Saturday (the 7th) in the morning Commodore Patterson (ever on the alert) advised the Commanding General that, the enemy had opened Villery's Canal to communicate with the river, and had passed a number of Armed Barges through it, into the Mississippi. The Idea was immediately conceived that, an attack was premeditated against the lines & batteries on the right bank of the river, and that a simultaneous attack would be made to storm the lines on the left. Preparations were made to defeat the enemy in both of his designs.

Two detachments were ordered to be sent from the lines on the right bank, at night-fall, to different points below the line, to met and repel the enemy at the landing, and prevent it, if possible. 400 men were ordered to reinforce that line, from General Thomas' Command of Kentuckians and that they should be well armed from the balance of that corps and such arms as could be gotten at the arsenal in New Orleans. It has since appeared that only from 170 to 180 men of this force were sent over, as arms could only be procured for that number. This party is stated to have reached that line shortly before day light, and were ordered immediately, below the lines to support the other detachments.

In the course of this Week a Demi-Bastion had been errected on the lower side of the canal, on the right of the lines. Two Embrasures were constructed in its base to rake the Canal and plane in front of the line, and two others in its face for the purpose of raking the Levey & road. It was encircled by a Posse leading from the canal, along the foot of the Base & Face and communicating with the river from whence it would receive a supply of water in the rise, expected. The field pieces were placed therein for the convenience of shifting from the Base to the face as cir-

cumstances might require. These pieces were placed under the Charge of an officer with a sufficient force to serve them. The company of rifflemen on the line commanded the interior of this work & protected it.

SUNDAY, JANY 8TH, 1815

At the dawn of day the enemy were discovered (by the Piquet guards) to be advancing in force against our lines. The alarm was given and the guards retired within the lines. The Enemy advanced in three columns from his right, centre and left. That on his left advanced by the Levey road. The one on his right (which was much the heaviest) passed by his battery on the right on a direction leading to the left of our Centre, defended by Major General Carrolls Division. He approached the lines almost in the face of our 18 lb. battery, and gave to that battery and another, containing a Howitzer, still further to our left, an opportunity of raking the right of his column compleatly; and also a favorable opportunity to rake him on his left with a 12, 4 & 6 lbr., and at a greater distance, by a 32 lb. battery. As he approached with this column a tremendous fire was opened upon him from these batteries, the militia and part of the 44 U. S. Infantry. The effect was astonishing. The enemy were broken three, several times, halted, closed column and advanced again and finally entered the canal with their front platoons. Such destruction of men, for the time it lasted, was never before witnessed. The attempt to force the line was persisted in for about 25 minutes, as near as I could judge, before he was convinced of his error. He then retreated in great confusion under the operation of a most destructive fire, of ball, Grape and musquetry. The column in the Centre, had halted & concealed itself in the sedge grass behind the first ditch (as a reserve) between the Battery on his right and his double batteries. Shortly before the column on his right retired, this centre column advanced in the front of the 44th Infantry, on its arriving within the distance of 200 paces of the line, it wheeled short to the right and joined the retreating column. On re-passing the battery, by which he had advanced, he filed off to his (then) left along the

side of the swamp, and took possession of a ditch beyond the reach of our Cannon, where he remained (as deserters say) until night before he ventured to regain his encampment.

In the course of this part of the action, an officer was observed, on horse back, in front of the 44th Infantry, about 200 paces, with whom an intercourse was kept up from the column. He soon paid for his temerity by being shot from his horse almost as soon as discovered. Eight men immediately rushed from the Centre Column and bore off the body with the loss of four of the party. The horse was caught and brought into the lines by Midshipman Livingston, from one of our batteries, shortly after the firing ceased.

At the commencement of this attack the Kentucky Regiment (in the rear of General Carrolls division) advanced and took cover under the line. A part intermixed with Carrolls men and fought bravely.

The column of the enemy on the Levey & road, advanced rapidly and entered the Fosse under the face of the Demi-Bastion, mounted over the parapet and gained entire possession of that advance work. The commander & party retreating behind our lines in a state of confusion disgraceful to its commander. The enemy were now open to the fire of Captain Beal's company of Rifflemen, by whom every officer & man that entered this work was killed, wounded & taken—not one escaped. A Lieutenant Colonel Rainey who headed this part of the assault, crossed the canal from the Demi-Bastion and endeavored to gain possession of our line. He was met as he raised to a level with our parapet, by a Mr. Weathers, of the riffle company, who shot him in one of his eyes and put an end to his existence. He was certainly a man of uncommon bravery, and was much lamented by the officers of the army to which he belonged. The balance of this column was driven back with considerable slaughter (excepting about 30 or 40) who had concealed themselves in the Fosse, under the face of the Demi-Bastion. This concealed party, after the firing had nearly ceased, attempted their escape, but without success. The whole

were killed, wounded & taken. The whole time from the commencement to the close of this action, 45 minutes.

The scene exhibited on the field of action, in front of the line of defence, where the columns advanced & retired, was truly distressing to a feeling mind. The column that had retired from before General Carrolls division & the before mentioned batteries appeared to have left behind them, in advance of the first ditch (a distance of about 20 chain from the line) upwards of 500 dead bodies, and a number more that could be seen beyond the Ditch to a considerable distance, with a number of wounded, that were incapable of retreating. On the Levey nearly one hundred were killed.

Shortly after the firing had ceased, numbers of those that were supposed to have been killed, began to rise and solicit assistance. They were severely wounded. Arms, Legs & thighs had been shattered, in great abundance, by our Grape & ball, as well as by our riffles & musquets.

The relief solicited was most liberally furnished. The militia, in great numbers were sent to assist them into the lines, with such of the 44th Infantry as lay contiguous to the scene of action. They brought those that could not walk, with assistance, on their backs and on a few planks placed along a few scaling ladders, the enemy had left on the field. All were brought into the lines by this means, that our men dared venture to. Many could not be gotten without considerable danger, as the enemy, on their retreat, had thrown some sharp-shooters into the first Ditch, to cover the wounded and prevent them from falling into our hands as prisoners of war. This party kept up a constant fire on such of our men were as endeavored to relieve *their wounded* within the reach of their guns; In some instances wounding those who were endeavoring to give relief, while no attempt was made on the part of the enemy, to furnish it.

Shortly after the firing had finally ceased on the left bank, and the enemy retired beyond our reach, a heavy firing was heard from the right. It was soon seen that the enemy had attacked and

Driven General Morgans Command from *their* line of defence, and that they were retreating with great speed and confusion, up the river, and pursued by the enemy. The persuit was continued until the enemy reached Doctor Floods House & Mill, nearly opposite Head Quarters, a short distance above the right of our lines, where they halted, and, as we supposed, with the intention of enfilading our lines, but in this we were mistaken. Several shot were fired at them from the demi-bastion which obliged them to retire from the Levey, where they remained until night-fall. Floods Houses, and some others on that side, were burned, partly by our own men, and others by the enemy. Reinforcements were sent across to the right bank, to halt, and strengthen the fugatives, and to prevent the enemy from approaching the Arsenal opposite the City.

Having never seen an official report of the transactions, on the right bank (on this occasion) renders me incapable of giving anything like a correct statement of the causes that led to this disaster. A contest arose between the Kentucky detachment and the Louisianians, on that side, in which each charged his opponent with *all* the disgrace attached to this unmanly defence of their line, but on conversing with Commodore Patterson, who was on the ground, directing the management of the artillery & Batteries, and not involved in the controversy, I am of opinion that neither of the contending parties acted with that manly bravery & fortitude their country expected of them, or that their own reputation required. The only person exempt from censure, as far as my information extends, was the Commanding General (Morgan) who is said by the Commodore to have exerted himself strenuously to restrain the flight and reduced them to order without assistance or success.

The Commodores statement, on which have to rely, relative to the operations of the day, on the right bank, is nearly to this amount. That on the preceding evening two Majors with a command of about 200 men each had been detached to different points, below the lines, to oppose the enemy should they attempt to cross

the river, and, if possible, prevent them from effecting a landing on that side. That the enemy effected a landing below both commands, without opposition. That the lower command retreated back into the swamp without attempting to oppose the advance of the enemy. That the enemy continued to advance until he arrived near the second command, which retreated, also, without making opposition until they reached the small command of Kentucky Troops that had arrived at the lines a little before day-light, and had been ordered in advance, to cover and support these two commands. That on the approach of the enemy a few shot were fired by this party, and the whole retreated within the lines. That they entered the line on its right, near he swamp, and were pursued by the enemy. That in order to stop the progress of the enemy he (the Commodore) had placed two pieces of artillery to enfilade the flank of the enemy, and had fired a few guns, which had, in some measure stopped their career, when he discovered the whole in confusion, and numbers runing off. That General Morgan was using every personal effort, in his power, to prevent the flight & restore order, but without effect, as he was not aided by any of the other officers. He does not know whether the party which retreated from below, halted at the lines, or not, but inclined to believe they did not. That on the first approach of the enemy, a confused firing took place from behind the lines for a short time, when the whole retreated, and having spiked the cannon, after halting the enemy, by a few fires, he retreated also, with his artillerists. That he was convinced that had the defenders have stood firm, a few discharges of the musquetry & artillery would have caused the retreat of the enemy.

On the night preceding the action the enemy errected a battery on the left bank, between their double battery, silenced on the 1st of Jany., and the battery on the levey road and but a short distance from the former, which they kept in constant employ during the action. It was directed principally against Madame McCarty's House, occupied by the Commanding General as his Head Quar-

ters. A few Rockets were also thrown, but without any injury to the invaded.

In the afternoon of this day, permission was given (at his own request) to a Captain Savery, who commanded a company of the people of colour in Major Dacquines Battalion, to take his company and endeavor to dislodge the party left by the enemy for the purpose of annoying us in our endeavors to obtain possession of the wounded, as prisoners of war. A small skirmish ensued in which the Captain succeeded with the loss of his Brother, killed, and 13 wounded.

The loss of the Americans, on the left bank of the river, as pr. official returns, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal & 8 privates killed,—2 Quarter Master sergeants, 4 sergeants, 1 corporal & 16 privates, wounded, 34 Total.

On the right bank of the river 2 privates, killed, 1 Adjutant, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal & 12 privates wounded, and 19 privates missing. Total 37. Aggregate 71.

The loss on the part of the enemy it is impossible to ascertain. It must have been immence for the numbers engaged. The prisoners taken amounted to above 500 officers & soldiers. The killed, which were, afterwards, delivered to the enemy at the first ditch, as a line of demarkation, was considerably above 300, officers included, and it was evident, from the view we had to the rear of the ditch, that there were a great number killed beyond this line of demarkation. The number of wounded that escaped, must have been considerable. The first report that I have seen of General Lamberts gives his aggregate loss at 1654. I am inclined to believe that report is correct, if I were to judge from what I saw and what I have learned in various ways. His last report in detail collected from General Keane and others is absolutely false. I saw more dead bodies delivered him at the line of demarkation, by the Americans, from their side of the line, than are contained in the whole of that detailed report, which only gives 292 or 3.

In this action only Ten of the enemy shewed themselves to General Coffee's Brigade, seven of which number were killed on

the ground, and the other three were found dead in the swamp, near the same place, a few days after.

Early in the afternoon a horn from the enemies lines announced the approach of a flag of Truce. It was met at the line of demarkation and a letter received, signed with the name of Lambert as Major General, proposing a cessation of Hostilities for the purpose of burying the dead. This proposition was acceeded to, so far as related to the armies on the left bank, on receiving a pledge from General Lambert that those on the right bank should not be reinforced in the mean time, which pledge should be reciprocated on the part of the Commanding General. To this proposition Lambert requested until 10 o'clock on the morning of the succeeding day to deliver his answer, within which time he withdrew his forces from the right bank, and early the next morning wrote the Commanding General that his troops had returned on the preceding day at 3 o'clock P. M. to the left bank, although he must have been sensible that they were actually in view from our lines until 5 o'clock P. M. So much for Brittish Veracity. The fact was that fearing our force on that side had been augmented, and that their situation was dangerous, they did retreat & recross the river *on that night.*

The letters being always signed by (and sent from) General Lambert rendered it proper, in the negociations, and also necessary to know what had become of Packingham, Gibbs & Keane which were all supposed to be his superior officer. He answered a letter upon this subject by assuring the General that he was the Commanding General of the Brittish forces, and from some deserters we obtained the information that Packingham & Gibbs were killed and Keane wounded, in this last conflict.

The terms upon which the truce was finally concluded was that the Americans should deliver all the dead bodies on the uper side of the Ditch at the edge of the sedge Grass, and all that were in the woods and swamps at this line of demarkation, and that the Brittish army should collect those below that line and bury the whole in two hours. This time was extended and compleated

early in the evening, when the usual firing commenced from our batteries on the Picquets and lines of the enemy.

The officers charged with the delivery of the dead from our side the line, took the advantage of the opportunity afforded them in noticing the opposite side of the line. They state that a great number of dead bodies were to be seen on that side. They delivered, as before stated, upwards of 300 officers & soldiers, from our side of the line, in addition to those collected by the enemy within the bounds allotted them. This delivery will be seen to have taken place on the 9th.

On the evening of the 8th whilst the flags was waiting for an answer from the Commanding General, a number of the enemy were discovered in the swamp near General Carrolls line. The General ordered them to lay down their arms immediately and march into the lines or they would be fired. This order was instantly obeyed by which the General gained possession of one Captain, one subaltern & fifty one other persons. They are included in the number of prisoners made on that day.

As the Bombardment of Fort St. Philips still continued, and the issue remained doubtful, the Commanding General ordered a water battery to be Erected on the Levey, about 150 paces above the left of the lines of defence, which was compleated in a few days, under the direction of a Mr. Blanchard, and mounted with four 24 lbrs. At the same time a new line of defence was erected on the right bank for the protection of General Morgan's command and a battery also erected, under the direction of Commodore Patterson, on the Levey, on that side, which was mounted with the Guns that had been used on the batteries below and spiked on the retreat of the Eighth. These Guns had been drilled and put in a situation for service under the superintendence of the Commodore, excepting one Howitzer which the Enemy had taken away on their retreat. These batteries had scarcely been compleated when the Bombardment of the Fort St. Philips ceased, and shortly after, information was received, that the Enemy, after expending upwards of 1,200 shells of 13 Inch diameter, had

descended the river, and abandoned the enterprize, leaving the defenders in quiet possession of the Fort and its dependencies with very triffling loss & injury.

A thirteen Inch mortar had been conveyed to the lines, with a number of shells, previous to the 8th but had not been placed in a situation to render service. It was found difficult, on the soft ground about the lines, to get a spot sufficiently firm for the purpose. A tolerable situation was at length fixed on and the mortar set in operation. A number of shells were thrown, but with little effect, owing to the softness of the ground which admitted the shells, from their weight, to sink so deep as to prevent explosion.

A continued cannonade on their lines, is believed to have had a beneficial effect. Our rifflemen was, also, a considerable annoyance to the enemy in the day time by advancing near their Piquets & Sentrys as well as their fatigue parties, employed in the erection of two batteries on the enemies right as a security to his right flank which, it is presumed, he feared would be attempted to be turned by a sortie from our lines.

A few days after the battle of the Eighth a flag was received proposing an exchange of prisoners. This was agreed to and a cartel settled which included all prisoners taken on either side, as well sea, as land forces, so far as they could meet the exchange, man for man, with an obligation on their side to return the Purser of the Navy (Mr. Shields) and party, that had been sent with a flag to Enquire into the situation of the prisoners captured on board the Gun Boats, and had as yet been detained. On this agreement Mr. Shields & party were liberated & returned, and the balance of our prisoners a few days after—a like number, and of equal rank was sent them, in return agreeable to cartel, at the place agreed upon.

Irritated at his detention, Mr. Shields determined to obtain satisfaction for the injury he considered himself to have sustained.

Whilst on board the enemy's Fleet he had obtained information that Admirals Cochrane & Malcolm were on shore with the land forces, and were expected to return, in barges, about the 16th. On

returning to Head Quarters he suggested a plan for intercepting these admirals, on their return, which was approved of, both by the General & Commodore. He was accordingly furnished with a few armed Barges at Fort St. John's properly equipped, and immediately before the day the admirals were to return, descended through the pass Chef Menteur, into Lake Bourne, or, as the French call it, Lac Borgne, where he lay concealed until Barges were discovered; these he pursued and fired on one of them at long shot, but without success. This was said to be Malcolm's. Cochranes was said to have returned on the preceeding day. On returning from the chace he fell in with and captured one other Barge containing a crew of sailors & a number of Cavalry officers & soldiers, amounting in the whole to, upwards of, fifty, two of which was Commissioned officers of Cavalry, or Dragoons. These were brought safely into port.

A few nights after the return of Mr. Shields into port, a Lieutenant Johnson, of the Navy, in a similar Barge, fell in with & captured another of the enemy's Vessels (said to be a Brig) laden with Bread and other supplies for the Army on shore, which Vessel he was obliged to destroy, being prevented by high winds, of an opportunity to bring her into port, through the difficult channel of Chef Menteur pass.

About the 15th & 16th the movemens of the enemy afforded strong evidence of a disposition to withdraw from their lines and to re-embark on board their Vessels at the Bayou Bienvenue. Deserters confirmed the suspicions we had entertained, and stated that they were daily sending off all heavy Articles, particularly their Ball, powder, Grape shot &c. as well as their sick & convalescent soldiers. This disopsition to retire was attended with increased evidence until the night of the 18th when, under cover of a heavy fog, common to this country, they actually abandoned their Encampment, and retired behind a battery erected for the security of their retreat, at a strong position on Villerys Canal. A discovery of this movement was not made until the fog had cleared away at about 8 o'clock of the morning of the 19th. Parties

of light troops & cavalry were immediately detached in pursuit, to hang on, and harrass their rear. The movement proved to be too late, as they had gotten behind their battery before the parties could overtake them, and their flanks were perfectly secured by mirey swamps & prairies. They had been obliged to leave behind them, upwards of 60 of their wounded, sick, surgeons & attendants, as prisoners of War. 6-18 lbrs. & carriages compleat (spiked only) were left in their batteries at different places on the Levey, and 12 other cannon at the batteries on the 2nd Ditch which were mutilated and rendered useless.

JANY. 20TH, 1815

On last evening and this day strong parties were stationed on Villery's Canal and in its Vicinity to guard against any manouvre, contemplated by this movement, on the part of the enemy. The post at Chef Menteur, or Bayou Savage, had also been previously reinforced, to oppose any landing that might be attempted in that quarter, after retiring from their lines.

The forces on the right bank were continued at their present position. On the left bank the 7th Infantry were left in charge of the lines of defence & batteries. The parties stationed on Villerys Canal and in its Vicinity, with additional numbers of Local and other Militia, were continued at their positions. The 44th Infantry, and the City Volunteers both white & black were ordered to retire, on the morrow to the City, there to remain and do duty until their services should be required elsewhere. The balance of the troops to retire to dryer Ground & more convenient Encampments until further orders. On the 21st the before-named troops left the lines for the several Encampments to which they had been ordered, and the Commanding General & Staff retired to Head Quarters in the Fobourg Marigna, at the lower end of the City, near Fort St. Charles.

Adverse winds delayed the embarkation of the Enemy's Troops so far as to prevent their entire abandonment of our Territory until about the 27th. They still remained on our coast, but with what design could not be ascertained for several days. At

length advices were received that they had left the waters adjacent to New Orleans and appeared to be directing their course towards Mobile point, and in a few days after the Commanding General received information of their arrival in the vicinity of that place; and by subsequent information that they had actually taken possession of Fort Bowyer on the 11th February. The circumstances attending this capture I am not sufficiently informed of to enable me to state them with any correctness whatever.

The 3rd Infantry had been ordered from Mobile to New Orleans previous to the departure of the enemy from their lines below Orleans, and arrived at New Orleans before the enemy sailed for Mobile point.

After the date of the 27th no military movement of importance took place in the department of New Orleans proper for the notice of a Topographical Engineer, as believed.

A controversy Embracing the principles of Civil & military right, which some supposed were not so clearly defined as to leave no room for quibbling, took place *after perfect safety* & *security* had been (as they supposed) perfectly assured to the state, although the enemy were still hovering on the coast in a menacing manner. This controversy, I presume, does not belong to my department to detail were I sufficiently informed of the principles, or circumstances under which it commenced, and which I [am] almost ignorant of. I have no doubt it will be fully laid before the Executive of the United States by the Commanding General with all its circumstances, principles and bearings, and that all ambiguity (supposed to exist) will be removed by the Government should any appear to exist, and that all doubts & difficulties on the same subject matter, will be put at perfect rest for the future.

On receipt of the Treaty of Peace, ratified by the President & Senate of the United States, the order establishing & enforcing Martial Law was revoked, and the Volunteers & Militia of all descriptions disposed of agreeable to the orders received from the department of War. The Command of the City of New

Orleans and the Various posts in that section of the United States were placed under the immediate Command of Major General Gaines as General of Brigade, and the Commanding General of the District (after issuing the necessary orders and making such arrangements as he deemed proper) departed from New Orleans on the 6th day of April 1815 and progressed by convenient stages to Nashville, Tennessee, at which place he arrived on the 15th day of the ensuing May, where he was received with the usual salutations, and the acclamations of the grateful multitudes assembled, voluntarily, on this occasion, to welcome the return of their fellow citizen & honored soldier.

Being destitute of the means of surveying the Ground at & below the lines of defence, including the different scenes of action, has put it out of my power to furnish the different, necessary drafts, or chartes. Several Gentlemen of the Engineer department, who were supplied with instruments of their own, has furnished the Commanding General (as I am informed) with necessary maps. From rough drafts which I have seen, I expect they are nearly correct, and my notes will point out, on those maps or charts the positions occupied by the contending parties, and the different movements of each, in the several conflicts of the 23d & 28th December 1814 and the 1st & 8th January 1815 where they are not shewn on the face of those charts. The Chart of Major Latour, it is probable, will be found to be most correct, as his capacity to do justice to the representation is certainly superior to any other that I have heard of, that has attempted it.

The foregoing satements contains the notes & observations &c. made by me, as Topographical Engineer pro Tem. in the Seventh Military District from the commencement of those duties on the 21st day of July 1814, to the 15th day of June 1815 when disbanded, which it is hoped & believed will be found to be substan-

tially correct. All of which are submitted with due defference & respect by

Ho. TATUM, Major and
Topl. Engineer Pro tem.
7th Military District.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of War,
Washington City.

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Smith College Studies in History

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
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Editors

RECOLLECTIONS OF JAMES RUSSELL TRUMBULL

Historian of Northampton, Massachusetts

By His Niece
ANNA ELIZABETH MILLER

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.
Published Quarterly by the Department of History of Smith College

Recollections of James Russell Trumbull

Historian of Northampton, Massachusetts.

Parents

On the 21st of December, 1825, an only son was born in Haydenville, Massachusetts, to Guy and Clarissa (Nash) Trumbull. This New England boy was the eighth generation in an unbroken line of New England ancestors, which can be traced back on both sides to the first half of the 17th century.

William Nash, the progenitor of his race in this country, came from England to Boston in 1637 and the following year joined a party who sailed around to the coast of Connecticut and made a new settlement, then called Quinipiac, now New Haven. His son Timothy moved with his family to Hadley, Mass., the next generation settled in Hatfield and the following one went to Williamsburg, where a permanent home was established on Nash Hill. One of this line of Nashes, Thomas by name, married Martha Smith, daughter of Canada Wait, so named because she was born while her mother, the wife of Benjamin Wait of Hatfield, was a captive of the Indians in Canada. The great granddaughter of Thomas and Martha (Smith) Nash was Clarissa, who was born and brought up in Williamsburg and became the wife of Guy Trumbull. She was a woman of sterling qualities, very skillful in everything pertaining to the household, a beautiful sewer and an indefatigable worker. But her own efficiency caused her to be somewhat stern and exacting in the bringing up of her children. The rules she laid down for them made small allowance of time for rest or play. "Don't sit still!" she would say, "If you are tired, lay down what you are doing and take up some other work. That will rest you." Early widowed, she made a brave fight to support her three children, and lived to see them all grown up. She died at the age of 80 years.

Jonathan Trumbull, great great grandson of Governor Trum-

bull of Connecticut, in his biography of this illustrious ancestor, has traced the name Trumbull back to the year 1315, when a Scotch peasant was mentioned in an official document as "Willielmo dicto Turnebull," because he had saved the life of King Robert, the Bruce, by turning aside an infuriated bull. The grateful monarch rewarded his deliverer with a grant of land and a coat of arms, bearing the device of three bulls' heads and the motto: "Fortuna favet audaci." This peasant is without doubt the progenitor of the once powerful Scottish Clan of Turnbulls, which existed until about the middle of the 16th century, when it was broken up by rival clans and English armed forces. There is little doubt that the Trumbulls of New England were descendants of this Scottish Clan, the change in the name being accounted for by the prominence of the "r" in the Scotch pronunciation. Indeed, "Scotchmen tell us that the name is spelled Turnbull and pronounced Trumbull to this day."

The first of this name to cross the Atlantic was John Trumbull, who came over from England or Scotland in 1643 and settled in Rowley, Massachusetts. Soon afterwards he moved to Suffield, Connecticut, where he and his descendants bore their full part in the colonial, revolutionary and later history of New England. The most famous of these descendants were the two Jonathans, both Governors of Connecticut, the elder being, as is supposed, the original of the term "Brother Jonathan." John Trumbull, son of the first and brother of the second Governor Trumbull, also added fame to the family name by his well-known paintings in the city of Washington and elsewhere.

Guy Trumbull's ancestor was Ammi, brother of the first Governor Trumbull's father. This Ammi moved from Suffield to East Windsor, Connecticut, where his sons and sons' sons engaged for many years in manufacturing. Here his great grandson Guy was born in 1786. From his earliest childhood the boy showed a remarkable inventive genius. The following story was frequently related in our family as an absolute fact. One day when he was about four years old, he came into the house from

play, crying as if his heart would break. On being asked what was the matter, he sobbed out: "I can't make my toads hop together!" His mother investigated and found that he had made a tiny yoke and yoked two toads together with a little drag attached in imitation of those drawn by oxen. The tragedy was that the toads had so little comprehension of the scheme, that first one hopped and then the other.

As he grew older he displayed great skill in the use of carpenter's tools. In the attic of the Trumbull house in this city stands a cradle of quaint design which he made for his children and in which they were all three lulled to repose. We were told that he could tune any instrument and that he made several violins, though not one of them has been preserved.

His business, however, was the manufacture of machinery. As a young man he came to Massachusetts and became a member of the firm, Hayden, Trumbull & Company, Manufacturers of Machinery, Looms, etc., in Haydenville. Among his papers are still preserved letters patent, signed by James Madison, President, granted in 1812 to Gilbert Brewster, Guy Trumbull and James Mathes for a machine for spinning cotton wool, flax and tow; also drawings and specifications of a loom made by Guy Trumbull for weaving broadcloth. There is besides a petition addressed to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, for a patent on Guy Trumbull's invention of the substitution of "glass instead of metal or wood for steps and collars for spindles to run in and uppon." Another invention of his was a liquid by which steel rods could be rendered pliable so that they could be straightened when they had become bent. At his death a little of this liquid was left in a bottle, but the chemical analysis of those days was unequal to the task of discovering its ingredients, and the secret was lost.

Guy Trumbull was a man of genial, kindly nature, full of quiet humor, which broke out in the most unexpected ways. In a business letter now in our possession, which he wrote to his brother-in-law under date of November 20, 1825, he concludes as follows:

"I am writing by a very bad lamp, four like it would make a total darkness, that is all the excuse I have for the bad spelling."

Strictly honest, generous almost to a fault, affectionate and kind in his family, it is no wonder that he was universally liked and respected, and that his children adored him. Julia, the oldest, who was four years old when he died, often recounted to her children the few incidents of her dearly loved father which she could recall; and James, nearly two years younger, was the principal actor in a pretty family scene, which a sister of my grandmother used often to relate. Sitting in his high chair at the table beside his father, the little fellow would lay down his spoon and throw his arms around his father's neck, crying: "O my dear papa! my sweet papa! my pretty papa! how I love you!"

Guy Trumbull died of brain fever when he was but 42 years old, leaving his family, to which a third child, Martha, was added a month after his death, without financial resources. Those were bitter days for the mother, but she bravely undertook the task of supporting her children, learning to make men's garments, which at that time were commonly sent out from the tailor's shop to be finished. It was a hard life, plying the needle all day and much of the evening and receiving but little money in return. Yet with the strictest economy and the help of kind friends and relatives, she was able to accomplish it.

BOYHOOD

Not long after the death of her husband, grandmother moved with her little family to Southampton, Massachusetts. So the first conscious years of her son's life were spent in that small town where everyone knew everybody else and each shared the other's burdens. In such a New England community there may be gossip, jealousy and petty bickerings, but the sympathy and helpfulness always manifested toward anyone in sorrow or need, can be fully appreciated only by those who have experienced them. Everyone was attracted to the delicate, sensitive, affectionate boy, who soon acquired in this new home a circle of uncles and aunts, and one of the near neighbors was always "Grandpa Chapman"

to him. This Grandpa was accustomed to regale the little lad during his daily visits, with some dainty such as he seldom had at home, where the fare was necessarily very plain. His mother, finding this out, forbade the child to ask for anything to eat when he went to the neighbors'. The next day as he appeared at the door, grandpa called out: "'Good morning, my little man, and what did you please to want to-day?" "Oh anything," was the quick reply, "a piece of pie or a piece of cake or an apple or anything you please to give me."

Just how long this little family circle remained unbroken I have been unable to discover, but we know that James left home while he was still a small child, and went to live in the family of his father's sister Sarah, who was the wife of Major George Howard, and lived in Tompkinsville, Staten Island. Between the boy and his three cousins, daughters of the family, a strong attachment was formed which is evident from letters written long afterward, in which they always addressed him as dear brother, and manifested great interest in his welfare. Further than this we know little of this period of his life.

Meanwhile his younger sister, Martha, was taken by another of the father's sisters and went in 1837 to live in Steubenville, Ohio, where she remained six years with Uncle and Aunt Marsh, who had no children. So for two years Julia was the only one at home with her mother, as James did not return to Southampton till May 8, 1839. This home-coming was very likely due to the illness of his Aunt Howard, who died in September of that year.

Two weeks later the 13-year-old boy went to live with Luther Edwards, father of the late Henry L. Edwards of Northampton. With this Mr. Edwards, who was a Southampton farmer, James lived for the next three years, working on the farm while attending Sheldon Academy. To this change in his life no reference can be found except the record in the family Bible: "James came home Wednesday, May 8th, went to Mr. Edwards' Thursday, May 23, 1839."

The following letter, written a little over a year later by the

oldest of the cousins, Mary (Howard) Hitchcock, shows how large a place he occupied in the family:

Staten Island, July 11, 1840.

DEAR BROTHER JAMES:

I was very glad indeed to receive your letter, news from you will always be interesting to me, for you seem very near to me, as near I think as a brother could. Little Dan often talks about Uncle Jim. "Where is he, mama?" he will say. "I want to see him." Mr. Hitchcock says: "Tell James to keep his eye to the windward and not let the whigs get the ascendancy." Yesterday we sent a speech of Mr. Duncan of Ohio and a "New Era." We will for the future often send you one. I am very glad that you are improving so much in your writing and orthography. Do not criticise this letter for I am in great haste. When Pa and the girls were in Windsor, they expected to visit you, but on account of Pa's business, we were obliged to write and call him home a week sooner than he expected, and that is the reason why you did not see them. Tommy is well and he told me to give you his love. Mother Hitchcock often talks about you as her beau that used to walk to church with her. She will never forget it. Sarah talks of visiting Priest Bartlett's family this month, if she does she will endeavor to come and see you. Now James you cannot tell how much it pleases us all to know that you are doing well. You must write to me again soon. You will see some more papers travelling up there soon . . . . You and mother must write again soon. Julia and Sarah and all send much love, and believe me James.

Your ever affectionate sister,

MARY.

Grandmother's three children had each received some years before, a small legacy, probably about $60. With this amount and the accrued interest Julia entered Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1840 and graduated in 1843, in the sixth year of the institution. Those were the days when great stress was laid upon the writing of compositions. A package of compositions which she wrote

during these years is still in my possession and with them also a few, written by her brother in 1840, '41 and '42, no doubt as part of the tasks which were required of him at the academy, but showing evidence of her interest and oversight. To one of these papers, which was copied by her, a word of praise was appended by the Academy teacher, Mr. Lewis Clarke.

For a lad of 14 to 16 years these compositions show a rather unusual command of language, a sense of humor and a vivid though crude imagination. In one of the earliest he discovers, after a search through his father's library, that "Composition is derived from the Latin word Compo, writing, and the Greek word Sition, to put together;" and that the word was invented by an old German *Demagog* "who, tired of using the rod, set his wits to work to find a substitute. How well he has succeeded, even beyond the expectations of the most sanguine! But for my part I wish he had stuck to the good old proverb: 'the rod for the fool's back'."

That 1841 and '42 were years of uncertainty and anxiety as to his future, is evident from a package of letters which he preserved and which were written to him by the Howards. One of these, dated August 19, 1841, advises him to accept the offer of a position in the store of his cousin, Horace Trumbull, in Hartford, Connecticut. But this cousin writes on the 25th of that month to say that he has made other arrangements and that James "need not take any further trouble about the matter."

In April, 1842, Cousin Mary again writes:

"DEAR JAMES:

I suppose you are anxious by this time to hear something more from this quarter of the globe. I have intended writing for the last week or two, but have been prevented by one thing or another . . . . Father sends his love to you and says he wishes you for the present to apply yourself to your studies and improve as much as possible, and as soon as he can find any employment for you he will send for you. So you see James you are not forgotten if the times are hard. Everybody is com-

plaining now of hard times and no money, and of course we cannot expect to be exempt. As for Mr. Hitchcock he has had nothing to do since he left the custom house. . . . It is very sickly here at present and has been all winter. I am sitting in Sister Julia's bedroom with herself and husband. Father is here too. I came in to sit a while with them and thought I would write a few lines to let you know that we think and talk of you. Father told me what to say to you from him. My youngest boy, your namesake, is as fat as butter. You would like to see the children, they have grown so much. . . . . Goodbye, James, I am called home by the little ones.

Your affectionate sister,
MARY HITCHCOCK."

The fact that this letter, which was addressed to Southampton, was forwarded by his mother to Northampton and a reference in the next one to type-setting indicate that James had already begun work in the Gazette printing office.

To the above letter his mother added the following postcript:

"DEAR SON:

This letter was handed me yesterday from the mail. I shall embrace the first opportunity to send it to you. I have consulted Mr. White. He advises not to write yet. He is going to New York in a few weeks and will go and see them. It strikes me that it is altogether the best way. You know that one cannot write what they would say. I am quite encouraged it will all come out right yet. Write a line when you can and let me know what you think of it. I am very lonely now Julia is gone, but I think it will not be very long before I shall see you both. Goodbye."

The middle of May brought two letters in one which must have created considerable excitement in the boy's mind.

"DEAR JAMES:

Father and Mr. Hitchcock have just purchased a farm and are going to commence operations at once. Father wishes you to

pack up and come down without delay. We shall all of us be very happy to see you once more, I can assure you. I suppose you are almost six feet high by this time. The farm is about four miles from here, beautifully situated and we are all delighted with it. Father has lately enlarged his library and has a very valuable and useful set of books, with which to employ leisure hours. This will afford you an opportunity to improve your mind and spend your leisure time usefully until some change takes place in the business world. Father and Mr. Hitchcock have concluded that farming is the most profitable business nowadays. We will expect you soon, I suppose you can by this time travel alone. At all events I think you will be able to find us out. You have not quite forgotten the old quarters. I must wish you goodnight and pleasant dreams. Give my love to your mother and ask her to write by you.

Your affectionate sister,
MARY HITCHCOCK."

"DEAR JAMES:

You will take the advice of your mother upon the above subject and govern yourself accordingly. I think that you can make yourself useful to me and finish your education at same time. My library is much increased since you left us. The Rev. Mr. White called on us on Saturday and I was much pleased to hear you were not idle, although type-setting does not amount to much. You can find some merchant coming on to New York who will take charge of you and on your arrival there—you know where the ferry to Staten Island is at White Hall, it runs almost every hour. The boats are the "Samson" and the "'Staten Islander." I have no more to add but the sooner you come the better.

Yours in haste,
GEO. HOWARD."

An entry in his journal, dated June 1, 1843—a year later, proves that James obeyed this summons: "One year ago to-day and where was I? I set my foot for the first time in three years in New York. And ere the sun had reached his meridian I was

at my old home. I little thought then that before the earth had performed another circle around the sun, I should be here."

APPRENTICESHIP

We know not what circumstances led to the boy's return to Northampton. It is possible that the farm venture on Staten Island was not a success, or perhaps a more favorable arrangement in the Gazette Printing Office was made for him. Certain it is that early in 1843, when just 17 years old, he became an apprentice under Mr. William A. Hawley, who was then owner and editor of the Hampshire Gazette. The following letter, dated December 11, 1843, shows that this change met with the approval of his Uncle Howard, and illustrates as well the rhetorical style of advice, upon which the youth of that day were fed.

"DEAR JAMES:

Your letter of September 4th in answer to Mr. Roff's was the first intimation I had of the proposal, which would place you in a subordinate situation in a grocery store in New York.

I was much gratified with your prudent and becoming answer to his probably well-intended offer, and highly pleased that your mind was fixed on business and a trade. The one you have chosen affords an opportunity for improvement of the mental faculties—is an honourable occupation—opens the way for advancement in the higher pursuits of learning, and brings you to a more immediate knowledge of your fellow-men.

Now is the time of life when you should press forward to the attainment of those beautiful branches of science which fit a man for the most dignified station on earth, and point him to a glorified state of existence in the world to come. I repeat that I am pleased with your determination, and hope your good sense will continue to be as well expressed in all the movements appertaining to a sojourn amidst the evanescent scenes of life.

I feel a strong solicitude that you should prosper and by your industry rise to distinction—the more obstacles you shall over-

come in the attainment of your object, the greater will be the victory and the richer your reward.

A strict accordance with the wishes and will of your employer—a rigid course of industry and application—and an unswerving determination of adherence to honest and honourable principles will, (with God's blessing) enable you to reach the summit of human distinction.

I have taken private quarters in my native town where I am happily removed from the turmoil and confusion which always infect the atmosphere of New York and Staten Island. I shall remain here till spring and perhaps longer, and if possible will visit you at Northampton.

When you see or communicate with your mother say to her that she still occupies a lively place in my remembrance, and present to her my affectionate regards.

Write me at Windsor, Connecticut, and advise of all matters which may be of consequence.

With the feelings of a father, I am

Yours etc.,

Geo. Howard."

A kind fate has preserved for us the journal of the young apprentice, covering the period from May 12 to July 14, 1843, and giving us our first glimpse into his daily life.

To the country boy Northampton with its 4000 or more inhabitants, its business life, its county court, its beautiful old residences and its refining and gracious social life, was an education in itself; and many references in this journal to the events of the day and to the buildings and various activities which he observed in his daily walks, attest the interest with which they inspired him. But this journal has for us by far the greatest significance in the fact that the young man paints for us all unconsciously a portrait of himself. At the beginning of every entry he reports his hour of rising, which varies from a quarter past four to five. Twice he accuses himself of lying abed until

half past five. He roomed in the office building and had his meals at Mr. Hawley's, which were none too appetizing or nourishing according to present day ideas of the needs of a growing boy. He always refused codfish in later years, excusing himself by saying: "I served my apprenticeship on codfish." The breakfast hour was probably six o'clock or soon after, for regular work in the office began at seven.

JOURNAL FOR 1843

"Friday, May 12. Rose at half past four. Worked till breakfast time. After breakfast went to laying on sheets at the press. Commenced at 7 o'clock and got off at 11. Distributed till 3 o'clock and then started for home. Left N. at about half past 3. Called at Easthampton for L. H. E. but found him at home. Walked on slowly, saw some snow on the road. Walked on snow the 12th of May, a thing I never did before. Arrived at home about 10 minutes past 6. Found Julia at home and very glad to see me. Slept at mother's that night.

Saturday, May 13. Rose at 5. Sat down to breakfast with mother, Julia and Aunt Ann, there was one still absent, one other sister—the table seemed lonely, but hope whispered consolation in the ear. The time may not be far distant when we three shall sit together. After breakfast piled up some wood for mother. After dinner went to Mr. Edwards', found them glad to see me. Went out in the lot with Mr. E. and talked upon many things. In the evening went into Catherine's room and remained there till 9 o'clock. She appears much better and seemed glad to see me. After 9 I had a long talk with Henry relative to reading and study. Retired at 10.

Sunday, May 14. Rose at 6. Left Mr. E's at a quarter of 9. Went to church. Sermon by Rev. Mr. White. It seemed good to get home again and sit in the accustomed slip, surrounded by familiar faces and listening to my favorite preacher. At noon the funeral of Mrs. Joel Lyman was attended from the church. The Sabbath-school scholars walked in the procession. I could not keep the thought from my mind, as I saw the long train of

friends and relatives that followed the deceased to her final resting-place: These will stand round the grave, shed one tear as the cold clods fall with a deadening sound upon the coffin lid and turn to leave the place, but ere they leave the burial ground forget the dead, and as they mingle with the world even forget that there is such a thing as death. This afternoon there were two children baptized, Mr. Saul Birt's and Mr. Sam Lyman's.

After church went to mother's and staid till about half past 6, when F. H. Axtell came with Mr. E's colt and carried me as far as Easthampton. Here I left him intending to walk the rest of the way. But before I had gone a mile I was overtaken by a man who invited me to ride. I of course accepted it and rode as far as the middle of South Street, from thence I walked in. Got the key of Mr. Hawley and retired at 9.

Monday, May 14. About half past 3 Lewis Graves came in and told me Aunt Ann wanted to see me. I immediately went and found her at Stodard and Lathrop's. I did several errands for her and came back to the office. After supper I went to the court-house and heard the pleas of Mr. Bates & Forbs on the case of Sheldon I. Strong. Verdict in favor of Strong, damages $4. It was rather a mean business there were a great many people from S(outhampton) in.

Tuesday, May 15. Geo. Wilson at work here. To-day Mr. Hawley accused me of not spacing my matter well. In the evening studied Latin some and heard Burnell read from an old manuscript he found up stairs. Someones travels, perhaps Mr. H's.

Wednesday, May 17. Went to distributing till 10 o'clock, when I attended the ordination of Rev. Mr. Rogers as pastor over the Edwards Church. Exercises as follows:

Rev. Theodore J. Clark, scribe; Rev. Mr. Clapp, moderator; Rev. Mr. Clapp, invocation and reading the scriptures; Rev. Dr. Hawes, installation sermon; Rev. Dr. Osgood, installing prayer; Rev. John Todd, charge to the pastor; Rev. Willey, [probably Wiley] right hand of fellowship; Rev. Mr. Bement concluding

prayer. The services passed off well. The church was pretty well filled. The music was good. The exercises commenced at half past 10 and closed at 15m past one. Dined with Mr. and Mrs. H. and Mr. and Mrs. Stowe and Mrs. Colton. Went to work at 2 o'clock on the paper. In the evening wrote composition part of the evening. Retired at 10. There was an alarm of fire about half past 9. It proved to be over on the hills and I did not go.

Thursday, May 18. In the evening went up stairs and wrote a composition and then down below and saw John French try to mesmerize Wm. Jones. He tried some time but did not succeed. We had a fire this morning in the office, rather cold weather for May."

Little did he think that the above mentioned composition written on the 18th of May, would fall into the hands of his niece almost 80 years later. The theme, "The Offering of Isaac" is one, which, like many others from the Bible, was a great favorite in those days, no doubt because it afforded opportunity for practice in the description of a dramatic scene. It was this constant and untiring practice in writing which developed the facility of expression, so characteristic of his mature work.

"Friday, May 19. Read Latin till breakfast time. Went to work on the press. Commenced at 7 and got off about 20m of 12. We stopped three times to correct errors. One time in pulling off the plattin we pulled out the staples in the top of the blanket, these were soon mended. In the afternoon I distributed. After supper I went to Mr. Whitmarsh's place where they are moving his cocoonery down a steep bank almost perpendicular. They take the building in detached parts, it must be a work of great expense."

Thus casually does the boy refer to one of the boldest and most alluring enterprises, namely the culture of silk worms and the manufacture and weaving of silk, that ever fired the imagination of business men of this region. Samuel Whitmarsh, the promoter of the scheme, was a man of great enthusiasm and absolute confidence in the success of his project, and he had the

ability to enlist the coöperation of other men of affairs, not only in this locality, but all over New England and even in other parts of the country. Mulberry trees scattered here and there in this section, are most of them witnesses to the eagerness with which their propagation was undertaken at that time, and many of them remnants of large orchards then planted. The amount of money involved in the enterprise was for the time huge, and great was the disaster when the bubble burst.

Returning to the journal entry for May 19, we read: "From there we went to Mr. Reed's house. They have got that propped up and are busy rebuilding the foundations. Returned to the office and read Blair's Letures on Rhetoric. Have been trying to think of some method of dividing my time so that I can carry on my studies and reading too. Writing my journal and studying Latin till breakfast time, rising at 4 and ½ o'clock. Reading at noon and some reading and study at night. Don't know how well I shall be able to carry out this plan.

Sunday, May 21. Went to church at the Edwards. Mr. Rogers preached his first discourse after installation, it was upon the duties of the ministry—very appropriate. In the afternoon I attended at the same place. Mr. Rogers is a very smart man. I remember one sentence, or rather this is the substance not the exact words. 'Quench the light of Christianity and Ignorance with her attendant handmaids, Superstition and Crime would howl her funeral ode.' This sentence has lost its beauty by not having the connexion, but it is still good in itself.

Monday, May 22. Rose at half past 4. Studied Latin till breakfast. Worked on the paper all day. In the evening read Blair's Lectures. Retired at 10.

Tuesday, May 23. In the evening I made a curtain and fixed it to my window. To-day I received a letter and a book from Julia. Did an errand at noon for Aunt Ann. Sent out a bundle to mother. Read some in Blair's Lectures.

Wednesday, May 24. Mr. Hawley and wife went to Amherst last night and got home to-day about 2 o'clock. After tea I

went with S. D. Smith to take a walk. First we went to see a large barn now building. It is the largest in town. From there we went through Hawley Street to the Episcopal church which is a neat little edifice. It is extremely small but it is done off in very good style. Then we went to the burying ground. Here the dead have been buried for centuries. The tombstones are thick. Some are bronzed by the hand of time and some have just been erected. And many rest there without even a simple stone to tell that they once lived. Here is the tombstone of David Brainard, that eminent missionary to the Indians. But man has helped more to demolish than time. Persons going there must needs have some memorial of that distinguished man and they have carried off pieces of his tombstone. Here also is the simple stone of Col. Seth Pomeroy who died in the Revolution, and by his side lies his wife. From thence we returned home through Market St.

Thursday. Just as I had finished my supper to-night Mr. Hawley spoke to me and told me that there was to be a meeting of the Parish at the house of Mr. Rogers and he would like to have me go. Got there about half past 8. Were shown into a room where we left our hats. And then for an introduction to Mr. R. At first, I had an introduction to Dr. Walker, but while he was introducing Burnell and Jewett, Mr. Hawley came to me and offered me his arm. I was introduced first to an old lady who I suppose was his mother, next to Mrs. Rogers and finally to Mr. R. After this I escaped from the room some how or other, and stood in the hall behind the door some of the time, a stranger in a strange place. After a time they brought round some cake. It was passed to me half a dozen times at least, till I got sick of the sight of it at last. About half past 9 they sung a hymn and Mr. R. made some remarks and concluded by a prayer. The people then began to disperse. I staid and heard some songs by Miss Wells, Delano and Mr. Reed. They were beautiful. Then went home and to

bed. Retired about a quarter of 10. Saw Austin Edwards today, he came into the office.

Friday, May 26. Broke the pitcher this morning. When I came down I took up the pitcher to get some water to clean my teeth and it slipped out of my hand and broke in pieces. I immediately sent for another for which I paid 25 cents. This noon I saw Aretas Bridgman of Westhampton. He seemed very glad to see me. Read in the evening some of the time and pasted scrap-book some of the time.

Saturday, May 27. In the afternoon went to work on a job, Mr. Reed's concert bills. I set up the body and Burnell the head. It was the best concert bill that has been set up. Toward night we took down the stove and pipe and carried them up stairs. We also moved the imposing stone a little. In the evening washed up. Stephen slept with me. In the night and toward morning Mr. Hawley's youngest child, Joseph, had a fit. The last time they sent for the Dr.

Sunday, May 28. Rose at half past five. Went to the Edwards church. Rev. Mr. Rogers preached a discourse on the gospel as the great leveler of all things. A fine discourse. In the afternoon I was so sleepy I did not hear much. In the evening went to the meeting at the vestry. It was pretty well filled. Retired about half past 8.

Monday, May 29. Swept out the office. In the evening read some in Blair's Lectures, and then went to work upon a job—some verses to Julia by W. B. Jones. Stephen set up the body and I the border. Burnell said it was a scientific job.

Tuesday, May 30. W. B. Jones feels very bad about those verses, he says that by some means they have got around among the girls. He was told of one that had been seen by the girls. It is rather a bad business, when we set it up we had no intention of showing it to any individual out of the office. However it is done and cannot be helped. In the evening I took a walk with Stephen Smith over to South St. to see the building they were moving. While coming back we saw a boy learning to

drum. Dwight Norton came in to-day and said that he had been out to Mr. Edwards' and said they were going to try a different course of medicine [for Catharine]. I hope it may prove successful. Yesterday I saw Mr. L. F. Clark and Miss Hannah White, they brought me a bundle and note from home.

Wednesday, May 31. Rose at 5. Went to distributing till about 8, when I went to work at the press with Stephen putting on wrappers for the Paper-Mill. Worked at the press till 11. In the afternoon I distributed for a little while and then went to setting. Stephen and George went to putting on sheets till George pulled the blanket and then he sent me to the press. Worked there till 5 and then washed six rollers. In the evening I read some in Paul Jones, intending to read it through, but shall give up that idea.

Thursday, June 1. One year ago to-day and where was I? I set my foot for the first time in three years in New York. And ere the sun had reached his meridian I was at my old home. I little thought then that before the earth had performed another circle round the sun I should be here. How little we know what a day may bring forth. And is it not best as it is? There is not one *man* in this whole inhabited globe but will answer 'Yes'." If man could see through the 'dim distant future,' suppose you he would long wish to live here? This is one of the coldest days we have had lately. Last night Burnell and myself bought a thermometer which stood at 39 this morning. Went to work on the paper, got up about 4 and then set out an old case till 5, loafed the rest of the afternoon. There was one piece of poetry of about half a column in which not one error was found. I heard Mr. Hawley say to Mr. Thayer that that was pretty clean proof. (It was some of my setting.) The weather was so cold that we wanted the stove back again, we kept a fire in the fireplace. The thermometer ranged about 50 on the average during the day. Burnell went up to Hatfield to-night and got home about 11. I set up some border for a job. Albert Ingram and John Panton came in and sat by the fire most all the evening.

Friday, June 2. Thermometer stood at 39. Still very cold. Pasted in my scrap-book till breakfast. After supper I read in Blair and wrote some.

Saturday, June 3. Thermometer at 48. In the evening read Milton. About half past 9 I heard a noise of someone talking very loud and swearing, at first thought it was down in Eustas' shop, but finally it turned out to be up stairs. I immediately went up to see what the matter was. But no sooner had I got up there than Capt. Hutchins seized me by my arm and jerked me around, asking me if I made all the noise. At first I knew not what he meant but Burnell went up to him and told him that it was not me. He then swore that it was me and said that one of us had got to die, (he having a gun in his hand all the time). Then Burnell went up to Mr. Hawley's and I talked with him. Finally I told him that I had not been here but two months, upon which he begged my pardon and I went down stairs. He followed me down, first having put up his gun which he said was loaded with six buck shot. On finding no one here he went back. In a few moments Stephen came in and then Burnell. In the course of half an hour Capt. Hutchins came down again and began to go at Stephen. This was about 10. We talked till about 11 and then the old man went up stairs quite sobered down. I never saw a person more infuriated than he was when he first came into Burnell's room. Brandishing his gun, threatening our lives and accusing him of lying. Mr. Hawley told Burnell that he would speak with Judge Lyman to-day and have him turned out. The next day we learned that Mr. H. came from the house up here about 11 and found us all in bed. Retired at 11, but before we had been in bed 15m Burnell thought he heard the cry of fire, most probably the effect of a disordered imagination, as we listened some time and heard nothing more.

Sunday, June 4. Rose at 5. Went to the house and read till church time. Went to the Edwards all day. Mr. Rogers preached from these words: 'Offer your bodies unto God a living sacrifice, which is your reasonable service.' He preached from the

same text both morning and afternoon, but I was so sleepy that I did not hear much. I expect it is owing to my business being confined so much over the case, my senses become benumbed. Went to the monthly concert in the evening. Mr. R. preached an excellent sermon in favor of home missionaries and foreign. Retired at 9.

Monday, June 5. Thermometer at 60, cloudy and the appearance of rain. Squire Wells went twice to see Capt. Hutchins but he was not in.

Tuesday. Rose at 15m of 5. Went to breakfast at 5 and went to work immediately, got the paper up about 10 but kept it open for the election returns. Got to work on the press at noon, got off about 5. In the evening went up to Knight's and got measured for a pair of shoes, for which I am to pay $2.25. Read some. Ab. Ingram came in. I saw to-day Mr. Osmyn Baker and the Hon. Lewis Strong.

Wednesday, June 7. Finished setting out my case and papered the bottom, then went to distributing. At noon Mr. Washburn came in with two bills which we were obliged to work immediately. I set one, the Horse Bill, and Stephen Smith the other. I rolled for both while S. S. and G. M. J. worked off some wrappers. In the evening read Milton. Retired at 10.

Thursday, June 8. In the evening went to a temperance lecture in the Town Hall from an old bald-headed sea-captain, who proved to be nothing but a bore. Staid there about 15m and came home. Received a letter from Julia to-night.

Friday, June 9. Burnell went home about half past 4. Stephen Wilson and myself went in bathing about 5 o'clock, found the water quite cold. In the evening wrote to Julia. Night before last we were awakened about 2 o'clock by some music. It was the Belchertown brass band, they played several tunes most splendidly. Retired at half past 9. The ther. stood at 82.

Saturday, June 10. W. H. Day came in, he came up the night before. We were all glad to see him. Stephen went home at noon. Got the paper up about half past 2. Loafed the rest

of the day. About 5 went in bathing with Bill Day, John Wells and G. M. J. Read in the evening.

Sunday, June 11. Rose at 5. Went to the Edwards in the forenoon. Mr. R. preached from Revelations: "He that is unjust let him be unjust still." In the afternoon he preached from Proverbs. I do not recollect the words. In the evening I attended a meeting at the vestry. Mr. R. spoke in favor of Sabbath-schools. After meeting I wrote till 10 and then retired.

Monday, June 12. In the evening went with Burnell to the great barn and walked around by Hawley Street, coming home I met Bill Day and a lot more fellows who were going to try their fireworks. Went with them down behind the school-house and got my shoes all mud, the fireworks went off pretty well.

Tuesday, May 13. Yesterday I went with B. up in Drs. Barret Thompson & Co.'s office where Dwight Norton gave a shock from a small galvanic battery. The shock is entirely different from electricity. Sent a bundle to Julia by Mr. Judd, the Post Rider. In the evening read from Milton.

Wednesday, June 14. Rose at half past 4. Ther. at 57. About 10 Knight came in with my shoes, but I did not like them and carried them back. I then went down to Sackets and got measured for a pair which are to cost $3.50. Rather extravagant Burnell says. I must be more careful in the future, if these are not done on Friday at noon I shall not take them. In the evening I went out with Freeman Smith, we walked up by the Mansion House and back to the Temperance Hall. Here we found about half a dozen reformed drunkards, devising means to celebrate the 4th of July. In the first place they took a vote to celebrate the 4th, and then someone moved to appoint a committee of 7 to arrange the matter. They then nominated till they got seven and then they wanted one more, but not satisfied with this they put on two more and then adjourned. The president then attempted to tell a story, but he acted as if he had been corned. Upon the whole it was a meeting that seemed as if it was composed of reformed inebriates. I then went down to the

American Hotel and listened about half an hour to a person playing on a violin. I then went home and read till 10 and went to bed.

Thursday, June 15. Rose at 5, went to work on the paper got up about 4. Then went with Burnell, Stephen and Bill Day to Burnell's pond, went in swimming then went into the saw-mill, and from there to the grist-mill. The grist-mill is the largest one of the kind I ever saw. It is a new building, the old one was burnt down last year. Went all over it through the machinery. From there we went into the sash factory, then to Bullen's blacksmith shop, then we tried to go across the river but found the bridge gone and we could not go across. We then came home. After supper I went to work on a job which kept me till 10. I had a little of Burnell's help. Rec'd a letter from mother stating that Aunt Marsh and Martha were now in New York and expecting to come on here in a few weeks, perhaps next week. O how I long to see my sister. It is now six years since I have seen her. It is true I know little about her but still she is my sister.

Friday, June 16, 1843. Rose at 5 went to work on the press. Hayden turned, Edwards had gone off somewhere and got Hayden in his place. Bought me a pair of half boots for which I paid $3.50. Rather extravagant, but I got Knight to make a pair and they were not fit to hoe corn in. In the evening I read and worked on my job some.

Saturday, June 17. Heard from Norton to-day that a man had been found drowned in the Connecticut, he fell in somewhere about Turners Falls and had been in 3 or 4 days. Mrs. Hawley came home this afternoon from Boston.

Sunday, June 18. Went to the Edwards Church all day. Mr. Rogers preached in the forenoon from the 2d of Peter 2d. Mr. Wiley exchanged with him in the afternoon but I do not recollect the text. Went to the third service at half past 6. Mr. Oliver Warner's son preached from Luke but I do not remember

the chapter. In the evening after meeting I wrote a letter to mother to send out by Dwight Norton to-morrow morning.

Monday, June 19. Mr. Hawley came home about half past 3. Worked on the paper all day. After supper Burnell and myself went to take a walk, in the first place we went up to Mr. Breck's but saw no one. We then went down to the canal and seeing a fire at some distance on the bank, we went to it and found some people fishing. We then walked down Summer St. to King St. and passed the place where the house of President Edwards formerly stood. There are at present two noble elms, the largest I ever saw. Ages they have stood and flourished, generation after generation of man has passed away and the brave old trees have stood in all their height and majesty. The tired Indian has rested his weary limbs here when the sun beat down fiercely; when returning heated from the chase, his beautiful daughter fanned his pallid brow and the cool breeze invigorated him. Then we came up to the reading-room where we stayed about an hour.

Tuesday, June 20. After supper went with Bill Day over to Charles Smith's to look at his summer coats, thought of taking one but have not made up my mind. Rec'd a letter from mother by Brown. Think some of going home Saturday. I do not know as Mr. Hawley will let me go and stay the greatest part of a week but I hope so. In the evening read some in Temperance Tales, No. 21.

Wednesday, June 21. Went to distributing till about half past 10, then went to setting the first part of Webster's speech in new minion, set the rest of the day. After supper went to Charles Smith's and bought me a coat for $2.50 rather on Burnell's suggestion than at my own. Went in a swimming with Kingsley, Thomas, Stephen and Towar, a young man from Greenfield whom I never saw before. We went down behind the jail and some of them called out to the inmates, but it was rather mean business so that we did not stay long. After swimming we went up to the large barn there building and from there came home. The ther. stood at 88.

Thursday, June 22. Went to setting on the paper, got up about 4. Joy and myself then carried the roller box down cellar. Stephen, Thomas and myself went up to Burnell's pond to swim about half past 5. Stephen and Tom swam across, but I only went about half way and back again. After supper Thomas and I read Mr. Webster's speech at laying the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument, 18 years ago. Retired about 10. Ther. about 89.

Friday, June 23. Saw Horace Edwards down under the horse shed, he halloed to me and I asked him to come up, but as he did not I supposed he did not intend to, so at half past 5 I went up to the river to go in swimming with Burnell, Stephen and Bill. I was afterwards sorry that I did not stay for Horace came in a few minutes after we had gone, and we did not go into the water; when we had got almost there we saw a canal-boat coming and nothing would suit Burnell and Bill but that we must get onto the boat and sail back. So on we got and sailed back to the storehouse. We went into the school-house and saw the laboratory and library and a small case of minerals. Then we went home to supper. After supper I came up to the office and read till 9 and then retired. Ther. stood at 90. I was very sorry that I did not see Horace.

Saturday, June 24. Henry Edwards came in about half past four, I was very glad to see him. After supper he came again and we walked as far as the Mansion House and then went into the Edwards church where they held a singing-school, finding that the school had not commenced we went to Barrett Thompson & Co.'s office and found Dwight. While there Frank Searle came in and we had a meeting of Southampton folks. Presently Frank went off and we went again in a few minutes to the church to the singing-school where we remained till it was out.

Sunday, June 25. Went to the Edwards all day. Mr. Rogers preached in the forenoon and Mr. Hopkins in the afternoon. At half past 6 there was a third meeting, designed for the young. Mr. R. preached from the text: "Remember now thy creator in

the days of thy youth." He gave some account of the manner in which he spent his early life, viz. he was a reckless and wayward youth, visited the theatre and ball-room, etc. His conversion too he dated at the supposed death-bed of his mother. His sermon was very affecting and well calculated to take hold on the young. After meeting I went with Henry and Frank to take a walk, we went down Pleasant Street, through Hawley to Mr. Kirkland's, where we met with two more from Southampton, Miss Clark and Miss Sheldon, we expected Dwight to make out the number but he did not come. It was a very pleasant meeting for us all. I left about half past 9. Henry is going to Southampton to-morrow at 7. He promised to call before he left town.

Monday, June 26. Mr. Graves came and brought a book and letter from Julia. Besides a present from Cousin Esther which I intend to get framed. After supper I came to the office and read. The new type that Mr. Hawley bought in Boston came to-day. Burnell and I opened it and looked them all over.

Tuesday, June 27. Mr. L. Edwards called in to see me this afternoon, he staid a few moments, talked with Mr. H. and then went home. Went in swimming with Burnell and Cook in Burnell's pond. Read some and retired at 10. Ther. at 90.

Wednesday, June 28. A load of paper came this noon. I helped Joy bring up some of it. Went to setting in the afternoon. In the evening I came up to the office and read and sung and carried on some.

Friday, June 30. Rose at 5 and went in a swimming with Bill Day and Tom Burnell in the Lickingwater. In the evening Burnell printed some cards for Julia for me. I set up some border around the order of exercises for the Celebration on the Fourth of July. Burnell printed some and the rest I left for Bill Day in the morning.

Saturday, July 1. Rose at 5. Went to swim in the river with Freeman Smith. Went to work on the paper, worked till 5. Then having 9 columns up we quit work. After supper I went

in swimming with Burnell in the Mill Pond. There were quite a number of boys in with us. After we came out we walked round by his uncle's, where we stopped and got a drink of water. We came down and saw both engines try their power on the old church to see which could throw the highest. The deluge rather carried off the palm.

Sunday, July 2. Rose at half past 5. Went to church at the Edwards all day. Mr. Rogers preached in the forenoon and administered the Sacrament in the afternoon. Attended the third meeting at half past 6. To-day the Sabbath-school was omitted on account of the excessive heat of the weather, the thermometer standing at 96. In the afternoon we had a tremendous shower and it rained most all night. In the evening Kingsley Burnell, William Strong, Burnell and myself went up in our room and read loud from the Cause and Cure of Infidelity. Burnell read most of the time but I read several chapters.

Monday, July 3. Went to work on the paper. Went to press about 2 o'clock, got off at 6. In the evening read and fixed things for going home. Retired about 10.

Tuesday, July 4. Rose at half past 3, got ready and went home. When I started it was quite dark. I arrived at home about half past 5. It was the stillest morning for the Fourth of July I recollect of having seen, hardly a gun. Saw Martha and Aunt Marsh. Martha resembles Julia very much, she is pale and not very well. Aunt Marsh looks the same as ever. She brought a letter to me from Sarah and a lot of papers from the rest. Julia and Mr. Miller came over about 11, and staid till 2. It really seemed good to see us all together again after a separation of 6 years. In the afternoon I went up to Mr. Edwards'. Staid to supper. Mr. Shad Clark and wife there. Left there about 7. Stopped at Col.'s, had a chat with Horace and then went down to Mr. Chapman's to accompany home Mother, Aunt Marsh, Aunt Ann and Martha. Slept at Mr. Graves'.

Wednesday, July 5. Rose at 6. Went over home to breakfast. Aunt Marsh went over to Springfield with Mr. Brown.

Started about 8 o'clock. I staid at home till about four in the afternoon, and then went up to Mr. Edwards'. Found the Doctors there, they had been giving Catherine some galvanic shocks. Yesterday for the first time since last Thanksgiving, she came out to the dinner table with help. Had a talk with Mr. E. about matters and things in general. Had for supper a good dish of strawberries and milk.

Thursday, July 6. Rose at 6. Started for home about 7. Brought up some wood and chips for mother. Had an opportunity to ride with Mr. Graves. I improved the chance and got in about 9. Worked on the paper all day.

Friday, July 7. Distributed in the afternoon till about half past 5, then fixed my picture in a frame. In the evening I wrote a letter to Sarah, which I intend to finish tomorrow. Had the nose-bleed twice in the afternoon.

Saturday, July 8. Went to work on the paper. Got all up about 5. Then copied my letter to Sarah, and wrote one home.

Sunday. Went to the Edwards Church all day. Mr. Rogers preached all day. In the evening heard a Missionary preach at the town hall. He told of the number of conversions in the Sandwich Islands, it was 60,000, while a million and a half had been made heathen at home; rather poor encouragement for the missionary. After meeting came up to the office and finding the lock out of order, we could not get in, so Burnell went up to his Uncle Breck's to stay and I went down and slept with Stephen.

Monday, July 10. Rose at 5, did not come to the office till after breakfast and then found Joy had opened the door and got in somehow. Stephen and I took off the lock and found it was broken, and by fixing we made it so that it would work and put it on, I don't think it will last long. In the evening read till half past 9 and then retired.

Tuesday, July 11. Rose at half past 5. (Rather late). Joy sick, had to be devil. Got to work on the press at 10, got off at 4. In the evening I read some and studied problems some.

Wednesday, July 12. In the afternoon went to setting on Dr.

Segur's address. About 4, Thomas, Bill Stephens and myself went up to Union Hall to see the compound solar Microscope. It has a great magnifying power so that a pin with some of the crumbs of cheese upon it would seem a crowbar with animals as large as small dogs running around upon it. He showed a fly's leg, it seemed larger than a man's. Flies and ants &c he showed. It was worth 12½ cts. The box containing the lenses was placed in a small opening in a window, the rest of the room being darkened, and the images are thrown on the opposite wall. While there the room was full of school-children who made so much noise that we could scarcely hear what the operator said. We have the privilege of going again free. After supper we went in swimming. Spent the rest of the evening trying to decipher a cryptograph but did not succeed.

Thursday, July 13. Did not get the correcting done till half past 6. In the evening commenced a letter to Julia. Went to the town hall at 8 to the meeting of the citizens to devise means for the relief of the sufferers at Fall River by fire. It seems to have been an awful calamity. A million and a half of property destroyed and about 200 families houseless and homeless wanderers without the necessaries of life and with barely food enough. A collection is to be taken up a week from next Sunday. A man from there gave an account of the fire. It seems that the principal part of the town is swept away by the devouring element.

Friday, July 14. Went with Step. Smith to Union Hall to see the microscope, but there being no sun, we saw nothing. In the evening I went to the town hall to hear a lecture on Palestine, Syria and Egypt, illustrated by splendid paintings shown by the Hydro-Oxygen light, and magnified to about 17 feet upon the principle of the compound Solar Microscope. Some of the pictures were splendid, especially the pilgrims bathing in the Jordan.

Saturday, July 15. Set at the rate of two sticks full an hour and got up a short column of Burgeois before dinner.

Sunday, July 16. At the third service Mr. Rogers preached from the words: "Take heed how ye hear." He told several

classes of hearers and some of them shot pretty straight. In the evening I commenced a compo entitled: "The last Plague of Egypt."

Monday, July 17. After supper I wrote part of a letter to Julia and then went to the town hall to a second lecture on Syria, Palestine and Egypt. First he presented a map of those countries, then a map of Palestine, then a view of the present appearance of Palestine from an eminence near Mt. Tabor. It seemed as if covered with bushes and rough and uneven. They have no roads except those made by their beasts of burden who commonly go in single file. He showed a picture of the Temple of Memnon in Thebes and two statues, one of the vocal Memnon which always uttered a noise at the time of the rising sun, but for some cause it has ceased to murmur. A recent traveller found a small metallic plate under one of the arms, which emitted a fine tone when struck. He showed the Lord's Supper. The picture was drawn to represent the time when Christ told his disciples: "This night one of you shall betray me." They were all in commotion, some bending eagerly toward him, some in earnest conversation. But there was one—the black fiend-like visage was turned upon Christ, and it seemed as though I could almost hear that diabolical voice as he asked: "Is it I?" The last painting he showed was the ascension of Christ. He had his picture so arranged that the figure of Christ ascended and a cloud came and covered him, then appeared angels and then the cloud covered all. The light went out very frequently and we were left entirely in the dark.

Wednesday, July 19. After supper finished my letter to Julia and found that I had lost a fourpence. Went to a juvenile concert under the direction of E. H. Swain. It was a first rate thing. A contribution was taken up and I hope he was well rewarded as he was one of the sufferers by the fire at Fall River. One piece, a song by a miss, was first rate, it was called for again after it had been sung once. The singers' seats in the Old Church were filled with the children. It lasted about an hour.

Thursday, July 20. After supper I went with Bill Day to

Deacon Hibbin's to get some cherries. We went all over the garden, got a few raspberries and found a few sour cherries. Then we found one tree that had a few black ones on it. We stood on the ground and reached a limb when two women came in and we thought one of them was crazy. Bill was standing on a small ladder or steps. The woman came along looking as cross as a meat axe, and said: "I want those steps, and let me have that limb too." We got down and she got up. We then went up into the tree. We then went down across the aqueduct and I went to get John Panton to cut my hair.

Sunday, July 23. In the afternoon we had an Agent of the A. B. C. F. M. soliciting aid. He said that if all the heathen inhabitants of the earth, 600,000,000, were brought together in one compact mass, they would cover a spot one mile wide and 100 long. All these pass away once in 30 years and not a vestige remains, and these heathen too &c &c.

Tuesday, July 25. Mr. Hawley went to New York to-day, don't know when to expect him back. Rec'd a bundle by the Amherst Post Rider to-day. I do not know where it is from, it is for mother. Yesterday Mr. Hawley said his four boys were not worth four cyphers. In the evening we had a serenade by a band of four persons that came up with the reformed drunkards. About half past 11 were awakened by the same band perambulating the streets.

Wednesday, July 26. In the evening went to a performance called the Reformed Drunkards. It consists of a band of young fellows and one female, who go around the country exhibiting the different stages of the drunkard's character. It consisted of 10 scenes. In the first place a man came out below the stage, and told the audience the object of the exhibition &c. Then came the performance. First was the departure of boon companions and pledging each other in the wine cup and carousing. Then the parting of the brother and sister, and so on. I cannot recollect the rest of the scenes, but we saw the moderate drinker, heard the pleadings of his wife and saw them rejected. Then he passed

on from stage to stage. The sheriff came and seized his property, his wife was taken to the Alms House. Then the jail, the pardon and reform, all depicted in a most natural way. There were several other characters, among them one Tom, an old drunkard, he was quite facetious. But the pleadings of the wife and children were most affecting. They were enough to draw tears from many a one and I presume they did from some. That girl was the most lovely girl I ever saw. As she clasped her hands in prayer, and two young girls came and bent over her, it was quite affecting. They were accompanied by a band of four musicians who played extremely well. They played as the curtain fell while they were shifting the scenes. This drama was claimed by one of the performers as his own writing, it was very well written and the scenery some of his first attempts at painting, all executed very well. It was well worth the ninepence. It was first started in Meriden N. H. at the instance of some of their friends. I can see nothing immoral in their drama. I think it may do much good. The house was full. They have been well received at other places and come well recommended.

Thursday, July 27. In the afternoon we had a tussle with Joy. Such swearing I never heard. Stephen and Bill Day put him out of the door. When Burnell came he turned him out, but Joy begged and pled so hard that Burnell let him back.

Friday, July 28. The boys received some "All Sorts" to-day from Fall River. In one we found a letter from Joy. I wrote an answer to Joy's letter which I showed to Burnell, he told me to send it by all means.

Saturday, July 29. Copied my letter to Fall River. After breakfast showed it to Bill Day, who wrote something to the editor under the head of private, and sent the letter.

Monday, July 31. Rose at 3. Studied Latin Grammar for an hour and a half. In the evening went to hear a Mormon preacher in the town hall. After he had finished he called upon any person present to ask him questions. Dr. Graham and Dr. Allen got up and wound him up, finally he went off amid the

hissings of the rowdies who thronged about the door. He was very illiterate but seemed to be candid.

Wednesday, August 2. Went home about half past 2 with Mr. Edwin Kingsley. Staid at mother's till about dark, then went up to Mr. Edwards'. Staid there that night.

Thursday, August 3. Rose at 4. Got the horse ready, and started for South Hadley about 15 minutes past 7. Arrived there at a quarter before 8. Went to the Seminary and staid through the exercises.[1] The hall was crowded but I managed to get a seat some of the time. The recitations were pretty good generally but I could not hear all. The compositions were first rate. One piece of poetry by M. E. G. was excellent. After the compositions were finished they sang several tunes accompanied by the pianoforte, and very good singing it was too. From the Seminary we adjourned to the meeting house, but not near all who were present could get in, I for one was obliged to remain outside or stand in the door, but preferring the former, I retired to the tavern. The address by the Rev. Dr. Beecher was lengthy, and the whole of the exercises including the giving of diplomas took nearly three hours. The company then adjourned to the Seminary and took dinner. I went to the tavern and waited till they had had time to get through dinner, and then went with Horace Edwards to the Seminary and looked around. Everything is done on a large scale. They have a windlass to raise the wood up from the woodhouses to the upper stories. The washing apparatus is quite a curiosity, they have a great number of copper kettles set in brick, and a great quantity of pumps for water, and the tubs and lines are all numbered. I then went back into the Seminary and found Julia, she introduced me to Mr. Edwin Graves and Cousins Esther and Fanny Graves, and Mrs. Graves, all of Hatfield. I then got my horse and we started not far from six. Before I had got half a mile I found that the tire to one of my front wheels (for I had Mr. E.'s old wagon) was loose. I was very much afraid it would

[1] This was the day of his Sister Julia's graduation.

come off. It staid on however till I got across the river, when I stopped at a house and drove in some nails. It did not come off at all, those nails helped keep it in place. While coming home I got on the wrong road, but did not go far before I found out my mistake and retraced my steps. Arrived at home about 15m past 8. I immediately went up to Mr. Edwards' with the horse, before I had my supper. I do not know but they thought strange but I did not mean any harm.

Friday, August 4. Rose at 6. Got breakfast and went down to Mother's to get ready for a start. Did not get away till half past 7. Arrived at Easthampton at half past 8. Went to Henry's room and knocked but rec'd no answer. I then started on, went into the tavern to get a drink, turned round to go out and met Henry in the door. He was in a kind of doze when I knocked, but supposing it to be some of the scholars, he paid no attention to it. But soon after I had gone he recollected that it might be me and started on and overtook me. We sat down and talked a few minutes and then I went on and he back to the school-room. I got back to N. about half past 10 instead of getting here before breakfast as I was expected to. I told Mr. H. how it was and he said it was well enough. I found that while I was away my communication from Fall River in the "All Sorts" had arrived and that Joy was as mad as he could be, and laid the blame of writing the letter on Burnell and Bill Day, so that I got out of that scrape. Joy swore that he would kill Burnell because he showed it.

Saturday, August 5. This evening the Torrent Engine came out in their uniform. They looked splendid, red shirts and white pants with fireman caps &c.

Sunday, August 6. Attended church twice at the Edwards and once at the Old Church. In the forenoon Mr. Beecher, son of the old Dr. preached, soliciting aid from the churches here for those at the west. At half past 7 I went to the Old Church expecting to hear Dr. Beecher but he did not arrive till just time to commence his discourse and his son opened it. He followed

with some remarks, the meeting was kept up till half past 9. The young man is the most noble looking person I ever saw, a fine large forehead with a bald spot on the top of his head. Both he and his father appear perfectly at home in the pulpit.

Monday, August 7. Read all the evening in a book entitled: "An Hour's Talk between a Father and Son," Willy Strong, Kingsley, Step, Burnell and myself, we took turns in reading.

Wednesday, August 9. We all went to setting with the purpose of getting the paper up to-day and going to commencement tomorrow. We succeeded finely and got up quicker than we generally do Thursdays. After supper Isaac Parsons came and I went in swimming with him at Burnell's Pond. After we came home I went with Burnell over to Mr. Clapp's in South Street to make arrangements about studying Latin, he advised me to take up Cicero. I am to recite once a week at present, Wednesday night. I said nothing about terms but I shall next Wednesday. Bill Day expects to go to Oberlin next week.

Thursday, August 10. Rose at 5. Began to get ready to go to Amherst with Burnell and Willy Strong. Started at 15m past 8, got over just as the procession entered the meeting house. The pews were all filled so that we were obliged to stand on a platform raised upon some of the back pews. But as some got tired and went out I at last found a place to sit on the back of one of the pews. The speaking was very good but I should judge not very extra, but I never attended an exhibition of the kind before. The salutatory address in Latin was very good, I could not carry the translation through but I could get some snatches of it. The rest of the pieces were very good but I could not now particularize. They had but one colloquy but that was fine and well acted. The exercises were too long, they would be long, of course. It made it rather tedious for those who were obliged to stand. After the exercises we went up to the colleges and went through the chapel. We saw the laboratory where there were a large number of chemical apparatus. Then into the cabinet, this is superior to any college of the kind in Mass. and has one of

the greatest professors in that department at its head. We then went into the library, then upon the top of the cupola, but the weather being cloudy we could not see much. We then came down and on the steps I met L. H. E. with whom I went into another of the buildings, where they room. Then we went down to the hotel, and finally after a while we came home, got home at 6. On going to the house we could not find anything but some gingerbread. Step. and I ate some of that and he left a fine mess on the table of crushed gingerbread.

Friday, August 11. Joy was turned off yesterday, so that I am now youngest apprentice. Willy Strong and another fellow came in and I pulled myself up by my hands on a bar 14 times. Studied Latin in the evening.

Saturday, August 12. Rose at 5. Did chores. Mr. Hawley came home in the afternoon. Studied Latin in the evening.

Wednesday. I distributed a lot of pi left by Joy. In the evening I went over to Mr. Clapp's in South Street and recited my Grammar lesson. James Hibbin came about half past 8 and about 9 Kingsley Burnell. Burnell read after they went out in the American Mechanic till half past 10.

Friday, August 18. About 4 o'clock Mr. Miller came into the office and told me that Julia and Martha were here. I went out to the tavern and found them there. Sat there with them nearly an hour. They then went home and I to my work.

Monday, Aug. 21. Rose at 5. Went to work on the paper. Mr. H. not satisfied with our work, wants us to work faster. Says that one hand in Stowe's office sets as much as the whole of us. Willy and King came in and staid till 10, but they came down stairs and I had the room to myself to study in.

Tuesday, August 29. Geo. Wilson came here to work. In the evening I went to Harvey Kirkland's to see Catherine and Mrs. E. Rec'd a letter from Peter Roff, offering me a situation as clerk in his store.

Wednesday, August 30. About half past 10 Mr. Miller came in and said that Julia was at Warner's. I immediately went down

and showed her my letter from Peter Roff. She was on her way to Hatfield. Studied in evening.

Thursday, August 31. Mariette E. and Dorcas Durant came in this afternoon and I showed them around. In the evening ate a watermelon and read.

Friday, Sept. 1. Went to press at 7. We run off the platin to correct and Step. tried to lift up the form after it had been unlocked (not thinking) and pied considerable. But we all went to work and in about an hour we were ready for operations. In the evening I recited to Mr. Clapp of South St. but my lesson was none of the best.

Saturday, Sept. 2. In the afternoon I went home with Mr. Edwards. Went up to Mr. E. at about 8 and staid there that night.

Sunday, Sept. 3. Went to church, sat in Aunt Rosy's pew, Mr. White preached. Sacrament was administered in the afternoon and Lorine Frary assisted in the exercises. In the evening wrote to N. Y. concluding not to go.

Monday, Sept. 4. Rose at half past 4. Started from home at half past 5, walked all the way, and got back here by 8 o'clock. Went to work on the paper. Worked on it all day. The weather was very warm. In the evening I studied Latin.

Tuesday, Sept. 5. Wilson and I had a dispute about washing the rollers and neither of us would do it, so they were left and Burnell washed them about 11 that night.

Thursday, Sept. 7. Henry E. and mother came in. Saw them at noon at Mr. K's. He came up here. In the evening went to Mr. Clapp's but did not recite. Had a scrape pulling sticks and knocking off hats in the evening with Wilson, Willy &c.

Saturday, Sept. 9. Mr. E. and wife carried Catharine home, appeared to feel very bad, both in tears as I met them on my way to dinner.

Monday, Sept. 11. We got the stove down this morning and built a fire. Saw Henry as I went to dinner, who told me that

Catharine was dead. She died without a struggle about 7 o'clock Monday morning. He appeared to feel very bad.

Tuesday, Sept. 12. In the evening attended a mnemonical lecture in the Town Hall. He remembered 50 names as they were read off to him, so that by giving him the name he would give you the number or vice versa. Put my name down to join his class, four lessons of two hours each for one dollar.

Wednesday, Sept. 13. At 11 1/2 started for Southampton with Mr. Kirkland to attend Catharine's funeral, got out there at 25m of one, got dinner at home and went up to Mr. E's. I went with the mourners, drove the third wagon with Mrs. Parsons. A sermon was preached by Mr. White. The scene after the services was very affecting, the family stood around the coffin taking the last look. It seemed as if they could not give her up. After the services Mr. E. wanted me to return to his house, but I had a chance to ride with Mr. Kirkland and improved it. In the evening attended the first lesson in mnemonics. We dwelt on the value of the letters principally.

Thursday, Sept. 14. Rose at half past four. Did chores. In the evening attended a class of mnemonics or the art of memory, this evening we by the aid of symbols were enabled to remember 40 words.

Friday, Sept. 15. Our new boy came to-day, Robert Haughton, a native of Ireland. In the evening attended another school of mnemonics.

Saturday, Sept. 15. In the evening Step. and I had a lot of roast corn, with King and Willy to help eat it, and a muskmellon. Willy shaved me in the evening.

Monday, Sept. 17. In the evening went to mnemonics.

Tuesday, September 18. Mr. H. as cross as a bear all day. The band to the distributing rollers broke and Burnell went off to get it fixed, was gone so long that Mr. H. went after him in a terrible huff, but met him at the foot of the stairs. Henry E. went to Amherst. His father called to see me to-day.

Thursday. Rose at 6. Went to setting, but four columns to

set up, got up and corrected before 5. We had the best proof I have seen. To Union Hall in the evening.

Sunday. Attended church all day at the Edwards. Rev. Dr. Osgood from Springfield preached three times. His sermons were excellent. Before church time in the forenoon I copied some verses in reference to Catharine and wrote a note to Julia in reference to them.

Thursday, Sept. 28. In the evening went over to Mr. Clapp's and found him getting better after having been sick.

Through negligence I have not made any entry for a week. The summary is that I have attended some lectures on Oratory & Music by Prof. Bronson in the Town Hall. Commenced a job of printing some lines on the death of Catharine. Set up one night till 1 o'clock and another till 11 but have not got it done yet.

Tuesday, Oct. 10. Got off about 4. Mr. Edwards came in and brought me a few peaches which were very nice. I sent out a bundle by him. In the evening attended Mr. Bronson's Lecture and a grand one it was. Willy Strong cut my hair.

Wednesday. Rose at 15m before 6. Distributed most all day. In the afternoon I tried to see how much long primer 1 could set in an hour. I set 3 sticks full and 6 lines. In the evening Burnell worked my job for me. Mr. H. came in and said it was very pretty. Retired at 11."

This chapter out of the daily life of a printer's apprentice, portraying incidentally scenes and activities of Northampton and its surroundings which are for us almost ancient history, and ending, as it does, so abruptly, always awakens my desire for more and has occasioned many a fruitless search through the old Trumbull house, to see if perchance some forgotten nook or cranny might not at length yield up other records of the succeeding years. However, these pages suffice to give us a vivid picture of the earnest young man, who was in reality only a boy. Somewhat shy and reserved and unused to social functions, he nevertheless loved companionship, for he never spent his recreation hours alone; and we have reason to believe that he himself with his

eager interest in everything about him and his keen sense of humor, was an agreeable companion. Like his father he had a strong family affection, which is expressed in his letters as well as his journal. His love of music is here plainly revealed. I never saw anyone who enjoyed so keenly a thing about which he knew so little. He used to say with his whimsical smile: "'I know two tunes, one is Yankee Doodle and the other isn't." Yet I have seen him sit enthralled by really fine music, for which the average man would have no appreciation.

Every journal entry records the hours devoted to the different kinds of work comprising his daily tasks, though these references have for the most part been omitted to avoid reptition. His days were spent in almost unremitting toil. No theaters, movies nor club meetings varied the monotony; there were no weekly half holidays and few diversions of any kind. With a persistance which nowadays seems incredible in a 17-year-old boy, he adhered to the plan for combining work, reading and study, of which we read in the journal entry for May 19.

LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY

This close application to work and study proved too great a strain for one who had never had robust health. On the 6th of May, 1846, his mother went to Baltimore to visit her cousin and remained away all summer. To this fortunate circumstance we owe several letters, written to her by her children, which she preserved. From these we learn that her son's health was seriously impaired. Previous to this visit grandmother had come to Northampton to make her home with her elder daughter, Julia, who was then living with her husband and little boy on South Street.

The first of these letters was written from Southampton, whither James had gone for a rest and was dated May 18, 1846.

"DEAR MOTHER:

Julia and Martha have written thus much of the sheet and the remainder is left for me. This letter should have been sent be-

fore, but the pleasure of hearing from *all* your children will compensate in some measure for the delay. I came to S. last Wednesday with Mr. Edwards when he came back from carrying Henry to Amherst; and shall probably remain till next Saturday. I cannot say that my health has improved very rapidly, but I feel better than when I came out. Most of my time is spent in the open air. The first day after I came out I assisted Mr. E. in planting potatoes. The next I spent in the woods with my gun. The morning after, Worcester and myself started at about 3 o'clock for Mt. Tom to see the sun rise. We arrived at the summit just in time to see it come above the horizon, but the weather was cloudy and foggy and we could see nothing at all. We thereupon cut our names in the rock and started for home, where we arrived at noon. We had no expectation of seeing the sun rise, as the weather was cloudy when we started, but Worcester had never been there and thought he should not have another opportunity, so we went. In the afternoon I went up to Mr. E's and wrote a letter to Kingsley Burnell. Yesterday I heard two good sermons from Mr. White and attended third service in the vestry at 5 1/2 o'clock. So much for a journal. I am now at Mr. Edward's writing but shall go down town after dinner to see Mr. Chapman's people off. The weather looks somewhat rainy and if it should prove so they will postpone moving for the present. I have spent a number of nights at Mr. C's. Saw Mrs. Sheldon, Mrs. Clark and Mary the other day, they all enquired particularly for you and seemed to think it a good thing for you to go to Baltimore. On Tuesday last Henrietta and *Lovisa* Sheldon were married. The wedding took place at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the party then rode to Col. Edwards' and took some refreshment. From thence they went up to Mr. Strong Clarke's and finished off. They had the largest wedding party that has been in town for years. Taylor Clapp was also married last week. So we had three brides out yesterday. Joseph and Austin and their brides were dressed alike and made a very

pretty appearance. Mr. Samuel Pomeroy came out with his bride a few Sunday's ago, and last week when Ingram and myself were here Stephen Searle and wife made their first appearance. What a place Southampton is for Marriages!

I left Julia all alone. Nancy [her sister-in-law] went home on Monday. Her father came over on business and she thought she had better go home with him. I am inclined to think that Julia will be somewhat lonesome, but Henry will be some comfort. You will find your letter considerably soiled but it could not very well be helped. I brought it from Northampton in my pocket and brought it up to Mr. E's in the same place. But I suppose you will not care for that so long as you can read it. You cannot imagine how glad I was to receive your paper, I did not get it till Monday night. I have sent you a Gazette and a Courier. Julia will send you the next Gazette. My vest is done and it sets beautifully. I paid 25 cts for getting it finished. Ingram gave it to one of the girls in the shop to do instead of doing it himself. You have probably heard of the fire at South Hadley Canal. You might have seen the ruins as you passed on your way to New York, but you had other things to think of at that time. I hope you will write soon and give a description of your journey, your place of residence, etc. You must excuse the wandering manner in which this letter is written, as I had but little space to tell a long story, or a number of stories, in. Mrs. Chapman and Edwards wish to be remembered.

Yours in haste,
JAMES."

"Northampton, June 1, 1846.

DEAREST MOTHER:

Your letter was duly received and you cannot imagine how glad we were to get it. It seems but yesterday since Julia and myself saw you starting from the depot, but you have been absent a number of weeks. My visit to Southampton I enjoyed much. I remained nearly two weeks with Mr. Edwards. On Saturday

afternoon he brought me as far as Southampton, from whence I intended to take the mail carriage, which leaves there in the afternoon, but I found that their price was 25 cents. So thinking it would be cheaper to walk I started on foot and arrived at Northampton about half past three. I found Julia rather lonely but glad to see me. I took tea with her and then went to the office, where I found the *hands* all glad to see me. While at Southampton, after I had written you, Corinth, Susan [Edwards] and myself went one afternoon to the west part of the town. Susan went to her Uncle Strong Clark's, while Corinth and myself went to Mr. Theodore Parsons'. We spent the afternoon very pleasantly and arrived home about nine o'clock in the evening. My health is improving, while at S. I gained just a half pound. Although this does not amount to much yet it shows that there is some improvement. Since I came back I feel considerably better, am able to do more work, indeed I work most of the time and do not feel as tired at night as I did before I went out of town.

Mr. Hawley commenced the publication of a daily paper on Wednesday last. Quite an undertaking for Northampton. His intention of publishing was not made known till the first number appeared. People were taken by surprise. The enterprise will, I think, ultimately succeed well. Everybody is pleased with it, and the papers sell well. This makes more work for us in the office, but not so much as you would at first suppose. Mr. H. has engaged Thomas Burnell. He came in town last Monday and will remain permanently I suppose. You cannot imagine how pleased I was to see him. He rooms with me at the office, so you see I shall not have to stay alone this summer. We are going to have our room fitted up in style. Mr. Hawley has purchased us some new chairs. Mrs. H. will get us some curtains, and when we get everything arranged we shall have as neat a room as need be. I am glad to hear that your health is improving also. You seem to be very pleasantly situated, and I hope you will not give yourself any uneasiness about Julia and the rest of us. You must throw all anxiety and care off your mind and enjoy your-

self as much as possible. That is the way I did when at Southampton, and to that was probably owing the good effect of the vacation.

Martha I have not heard from since she went to Westfield but hope to soon. She seemed to feel rather bad at leaving Southampton. She will probably be homesick for a few weeks. She said she had made up her mind to be so before she went. I have not written to New York yet, but intend to in the course of a few weeks. I shall write to Mrs. Hitchcock. When you write again please state what your intention is about going there. It will be but a few weeks now before we shall see you again. How I long for the time to come. Yet I would not abate a particle of your pleasure by wishing you back while you are enjoying yourself there. If the weather is no pleasanter with you than it is here, you cannot have much comfort. We have had but one pleasant day for a week. It has been cloudy all the time and rained some. Henry Guy has got so that he cries when I am over there and attempt to come away. He will take his mother's wood and scatter it all over the floor. Do all sorts of mischief, and the more mischievous he is the louder he will laugh and crow. I must apologize for the brevity of my letter, for we are all three of us intending to write again, and must of necessity be short. I write on this letter of Aunt Marsh's to save postage. Write as soon as convenient.

From your aff. son,
JAS. R. TRUMBULL."

"Northampton, July 13, 1846.

DEAREST MOTHER:

After waiting till I am inclined to believe you regard us as having almost forgotten you, we have at length commenced an answer to your last letter. I say we, because Julia and Nancy are intending to write also. We have been waiting till after the Fourth, and this is the first leisure time I have found since then. In the first place I will give you an account of our Fourth of July excursion. On Friday, July 3, Julia, Nancy, Henrie and

myself left in the stage for Southampton. We arrived there in time to visit the Fair, which, for reasons best known to the ladies of Southampton, was held on the afternoon of the day preceding the Fourth. The fair resembled that of last year in arrangement and quality. The only thing lacking was visitors, and as we did not get there till late in the afternoon, most of them had probably left. By the way, the first visit we made was to the old premises, and they looked as natural as you please. In the evening I went to Mr. Edwards' and spent the night. I shall confine myself to my own movements as much as possible, to avoid repetition of the same thing in the other letters. In the morning I took Mr. E's horse and drove down to Mr. Sheldon's and took Julia, Nancy and the baby to ride. We rode around the square and left Julia and Henrie at Mr. Sheldon Bascom's, while Nancy and myself continued our ride. In the afternoon, after seeing Martha, as she went through town to a ride, we all went to Mr. Edwards'. I will leave an account of the visit with Martha for Julia to describe. We saw Worcester too, he took dinner at Mr. Bascom's, but Nancy may tell you about that. At Mr. Edwards' we found Henry and a Mr. Waters, an Amherst student. Julia, Hen. and myself spent the night there. Nancy can inform you best about her ride down the hill with Henry Edwards and her feelings after she got to Mr. Sheldon's. Sunday I attended church all day, preaching by Mr. Butler, agent of the Am. Bible Society. Mr. White is unwell and has been for a number of weeks—was getting better when we left. In the evening I went to Mr. E's again, took his horse in the morning and we all went to Westfield. Found Mat. and Mrs. Sheldon in the washtub, or rather by the side of it. We told them Saturday that we should not visit them, but succeeding in getting a horse, contrary to expectations, we came upon them unexpectedly. Here we spent a pleasant day, visited the cemetery and Miss Baldwin's school, and arrived in Southampton about 8 o'clock in the evening. Julia and Nancy spent the night at Mr. Gaius Lyman's, while I went to Mr. Edwards' again. In the morning we all came back to Northampton

with Mr. Lyman. On the whole I don't know when I have spent a Fourth of July more pleasantly, than I did this year.

I have written to New York and received an answer. Mrs. Hitchcock says that nothing would afford them more pleasure than seeing you. And if you will write when you leave Baltimore, by what route, when and where you land in New York, as near as you can, Mr. Hitchcock will either meet you at the boat himself or deputize someone who will see you safe to the Island. I think perhaps you had better write to Mrs. Hitchcock yourself, just before you start, as you can make your calculations nearer than if you should write to me and wait till I should write to New York. You must be particular and observe the directions contained in her letter. These you can ascertain from Mr. Williams. Mrs. Hitchcock says the only thing will be, they will quarrel who shall have you. Mrs. H. has been unwell, suffering from nervous headache and weak eyes. She has a son just three months old, Mrs. Harcourt (Julia) has a daughter three weeks younger. She wishes me to come on there and escort you home, a thing I should like very much to do. You spoke of leaving your baggage at the landing in New York, in case you should not meet anyone at the boat. I should not think it safe to do so, you had better speak to Mr. Williams about it. You might perhaps through the influence of Mr. W. be placed in a cab in the city by the conductor of the cars or captain of the steamboat and be taken immediately to the Staten Island ferry, and after you land on the Island, anyone would direct you to Mr. Hitchcock's, and your baggage would be safe at the steamboat landing till sent for. But I have something of more importance to myself to communicate to you. It is this:

Dr. Thompson has advised me to go to Saratoga Springs. He thinks the change of life and effect of the water would have a beneficial effect on me. I do not know as I am any worse now than when you left. On the whole I think I feel some better, but I feel as though the principal difficulty had not been reached, and that is in the assimilative and digestive functions. As long as I

am confined to the office, medicine will not have as good an effect, or to use the words of Dr. T., it does not act kindly upon me. He says I do not need a great deal of medicine. He will not assure me of being cured, but speaks confidently of obtaining benefit. He thinks I had better start soon and remain there about a month. I must go, he says, during the warm weather. It will cost about $30. I shall draw from my fund in the Savings Bank at Hartford $50, go to Saratoga, stay a month, go to New York and come home feeling pretty well, I hope. That is if it meets with your approbation. My money cannot be appropriated to a better use. If I should recover, I can easily earn more, but if not I do not want the money. I had rather go this summer than wait till next, when it may be too late, and if not too late I shall be obliged to lose time then which I shall not now. I have not spoken to Mr. Hawley about it yet, but I will repeat what I said to one of the hands, that if I make up my mind to go, I shall go if he should tell me that I need not come back again. I would like to have you write immediately on the receipt of this, as I would like to get away by a fortnight from to-day, and I must write to Uncle Lewis for the money. The reason I take so much is, because I must get a few things before I go, and I wish to have sufficient. I do not wish to have you give yourself any uneasiness about me, for I do not feel as much pain in my breast as I formerly did.

From your aff. son,
JAS. R. TRUMBULL.

P. S. I would not have you fail of going to New York for anything. You must not be in any hurry to get home, Julia is doing well, and Nancy has promised to stay till you come back. I will write to Maj. Howard immediately. J."

The following letter, written to his Sister Julia from Saratoga under date of July 25, shows that he started on this journey just one week after the preceding letter was written, waiting neither for an answer from his mother nor for the money to be sent from Hartford.

"DEAREST SIS:

At last I have reached the far famed watering-place, and like others who have only one coat to their back, am playing gentleman to my heart's content. We arrived here on Thursday afternoon at six o'clock. Long enough coming, don't you think so? Well, I suppose you want to know all about our journey, but to write *all* about it would take more time, paper and patience than I can well spare just at present. We left Northampton Monday morn. at 25 minutes past 8, took dinner at Greenfield, where we remained a number of hours and finally reached Brattleboro at about six in the evening. Here we put up at the hotel of a Mr. Shaw, formerly of Northampton and brother of the man who kept the American Hotel when it was burned. Brattleboro is situated on a steep bank of the Connecticut, which is so narrow here that it seems as though you could jump from one bank to another. The town is not so large as Northampton, but it has a much more lively appearance. There are now about 300 patients there under the treatment of the Hydropathic Dr.—some jawbreaking Dutch name, which can neither be written nor spoken by anyone but a German. We passed, between Greenfield and Brattleboro, extensive slate quarries lining the road for miles, situated in the town of Guilford. All day we did not see a squirrel and only a few birds. Brattleboro, you are aware, is called the Gretna-Green of New England, and we some expected to be called upon to act as witnesses to some runaway match but fortunately escaped. I have nothing more of consequence to relate concerning our first day's ride, so I will proceed to the second. We started about six in the morn. on our excursion across the Green Mountains, this part of which has been denominated the Switzerland of America. From the door of the hotel the ground commenced rising and we went up and down and down and up all day long. The ride was a magnificent one. At one time we wound around some mountain side, while far off stretched mountain above mountain, hill over hill all covered with a dense growth of wood clothed in its garment of green. At another time we

would follow along the track of a mountain torrent down it seemed into the very center of the mountain, while along its rocky pathway a little rivulet murmured, the only remnant of the once furious torrent. One of these streams in particular we followed many miles and when we lost the sound of its moving waters it seemed as though a friend had gone. Some of the way our road led through deep defiles in the mountain, and on either side from both sides of the road, rose the almost perpendicular mountain steep. Then again the gorge would widen and a few acres of cultivated land and a neat farm-house would diversify the scene. Then we would toil over some precipitous height and then plunge into a deep ravine. Sometimes our road lay north, sometimes south, sometimes east and sometimes west. We dined at Wilmington, spent an hour or two and then pushed on. About three o'clock we were overtaken by a shower, but we covered up well and did not get wet. But here we saw the most beautiful sight in the whole route, one which I never expect to witness again. After the shower we stopped at the top of a hill to fix our baggage, which was in danger of being wet by the rain that had fallen into the carriage. While engaged in this manner our attention was arrested by a most beautiful rainbow, formed in the hollow below us. It was perfect in all its parts and extended merely across the road, and not a hundred rods from us. Oh! it was a beautiful sight. But I must hasten on. For the rest of the trip over the mountain I refer you to my journal, and even that is more imperfect than I wish it was. When we reached the bottom of the Mt. on the other side, we found it very stony, more so than I ever saw before or ever hope to see again, if I have got to ride over it. The stones are so thick that I should think the inhabitants would be obliged to sharpen the spears of grass, so that they can find their way between them. It is getting dark and I must postpone writing for the present. We spent the night in East Bennington. But I have forgotten to tell you, when half way across the Mt. I saw a chip squirrel run into his hiding-place. The next morning it rained quite hard so we remained at the hotel

till after dinner. While waiting, a gentleman came up who wanted to send his horse over to Troy, one that he hired there, and concluding to finish his journey by stage, wanted it sent back. So about two in the afternoon we started, one in each carriage. When about half way to Troy it commenced raining, but we bundled up and drove six miles in 35 minutes, and did not get much wet. We reached Troy about six o'clock. Stopped at Mr. S. F. Mather's, a sister of Mr. Reed. So I have seen Troy without cost. When I go to New York I shall take the boat at Albany. The next morn. we left Troy about 10 and arrived at Saratoga at six. We stopped at the Prospect Mansion first, but Mr. R. not thinking the rooms large enough for himself and wife, we drove to Montgomery Hall. Here Mr. R. engaged rooms and I went back to Prospect Mansion. I have a room on the second floor and board for $3.50 per week. In the morning (Friday) I went to the Congress Springs and drank six glasses before breakfast. Here I found Corinth and Mary and Mrs. White of Southampton, Julius White's wife. They board at Rev. Mr. Crawford's for $2.50 per week. The Southamptoners form quite a company and all board at this place. My journey of four days board and all cost $4.74, while if I had come by Rail Road, it would have cost $6. The girls came from Westfield for $4.50 each and probably carried their dinner. I am perfectly satisfied with the cost of my tramp. The only thing that troubles me is not hearing anything from my money. I took but $20. from Mr. Hawley and if I do not get more I cannot stay but two weeks. It seems strange that Uncle Lewis has not sent some word. I told Mr. H. if he did not hear from it to write to me, and I have watched every mail but received nothing. I did not imagine that my leaving Northampton was of so much consequence. For I see the very day I started the Daily Gazette stopped. Have you heard from mother yet? If so, send me the letter. Is Nancy going to Ohio? I am anxious to hear from you. Did you go to South Hadley? How's Henrie and Mr. M.? remember me to him. I am most worried about my money. The only way I

can account for it is on the supposition that Uncle L. has left home and no one there is competent to transact the business. I cannot write to mother nor to New York till I ascertain whether I am going there are not. You wish to know how my health is I suppose. I have not been here long enough to see any great change. Have a first rate boarding place, not far from 20 boarders and among them a Mr. Alvord from South Hadley. I generally get up in the morn. about six, go to the spring, drink two glasses of water, walk around for sometime, take two more, walk again and drink two more. We breakfast at seven, dine at one and take tea at six. I sent you a paper last Friday. We should have been here a day earlier but for the rain. It was our intention to have come directly from East Bennington to Saratoga, but we could not do it in half a day and it would cost less to stay over night in Troy, so we went there. I have not told you half that I would like to about our ride, but have not room for more. I will give you a description of Saratoga in my next. I make it a point to call on the girls once a day and sometimes twice. Do write as soon as you receive this. We have had very unpleasant weather taken as a whole since I left home, and it seems as if I had been gone a month. Love to Sister Nancy and Henrie Guy. Does Hen. miss Uncle James any? I do not think he does. If my departure affects everything as it does the daily paper, Woe to Northampton till I get back. Write soon and accept a kiss from BROTHER JAMES.

Sunday, July 26. We had a fire here last night about half past three. It burned an old barn. I did not go to it. I have served my time as fireman in Northampton, have no idea of trying again at Saratoga Springs. There is not as much company here as there generally is. How glad I shall be to see you again. Now I do not wish to have you imagine that I am homesick, for I am not in the least. There is plenty to be seen and plenty of amusement, but one wants more spare shillings and sixpences than I have got now. Have you had the blues yet? If you have time I wish you would write to Aunt Lewis about my money even

if you put off writing to me. Once more I will say write soon. Don't feel lonely and bad but just think how soon I shall be back. Perhaps in a fortnight and maybe not in a month. And if I go to New York not even then. I expect Dr. Thompson here in a few days. Give Hen. a kiss and ask him where Uncle James is. I will write to Mat. when I hear from you."

"Saratoga Springs, Aug. 10, 1846.*

DEAR MOTHER:

Yesterday I received a letter from Mrs. Hitchcock, informing me of your arrival at Tompkinsville. I have been at the Springs three weeks to-day. My health is somewhat improved, but not so much as I had expected. I have gained some, was weighed about two weeks ago and had gained two pounds then. Do not know how much I weigh now. It was my intention to have written you immediately on my arrival here, making arrangements to meet you in New York, but not receiving my money from Uncle Lewis as soon as it was expected, I determined to wait until that came, so as to be sure of going. Before the money was received your letter came, saying that we had better not write to you while you remained in Baltimore, so I have taken the earliest opportunity of being sure of addressing you. Yesterday's mail also brought a letter from Julia. She was well as usual. Nancy went home last Monday. Henrie Guy is as brisk as a bee. Says "Baltigore" to perfection. But he will not remember either his Grandmother or uncle, when they get home, I suppose. This Saratoga life is not just the thing for me. I am sick of it. I shall leave town next week Thursday, one week from to-day; remain in Albany through the night; and go down the river in the morning, so as to arrive on the Island in the last boat. How I long for the time to come when I shall see you. I little thought when you left of meeting you in New York. It was my intention when I left home to have staid in New York about a month, but I am afraid they will not care about keeping us both so long.

* It is evident from the preceding letter and also from references in this one, that the latter should have been dated August 13, which fell upon a Thursday.

And now I wish to ask your advice about seeking, while there, for some other employment than printing. I feel as long as I remain at work at the *case,* that I shall never get well. My time is almost out with Mr. Hawley, and if I do not follow the business after I am twenty-one, it will be of no use to stay with him any longer. I would like to have you advise with some of them on the Island about it and let me know when I see you. I should like above all things, and I believe it would do me as much good and more than anything else, a short voyage to sea. I suppose you would not give your consent, but I should not go as a sailor, I would like to be a clerk on board ship or something of that kind. But enough of this for the present. Nothing of this kind has ever been hinted to anyone yet. I would like you to speak with Mr. Hitchcock or Dr. Harcourt or Mr. Roff, or some of them about it, if you think proper.

I am boarding at a Methodist minister's, Rev. Mr. Crawford's, with Corinth Edwards and Mary Clarke. Mrs. Chas. Frary, Mrs. Julius White and a Mrs. Hitchcock from Southampton have been boarding here, but they left a few days since. We have had quite a Southampton company amongst us. In the first place I went and for two weeks boarded at Prospect Mansion for $3.50 per week, but that being a great distance from the Iodine Spring (and the Dr. told me to drink of that water after I had been here for some time) I moved to Mr. Crawford's, where I pay but $3. It saves me one dollar, you see. Last week Dr. Jas. Thompson and wife, Mrs. Kirkland and Rev. Mr. Swift came out here. The Dr. and wife and Mrs. Kirkland left on Monday for New York. Mr. Swift is here now. Dr. T. gave me some directions while here and I feel some better than before.

I suppose you do not know how I came out here. It was one of the pleasantest journeys I ever had. Mr. Jas. Reed of Northampton, was coming with his own horse and carriage and offered to bring me provided I would pay half the expenses. We started from N. on Monday (three weeks ago last Monday), spent the first night in Brattleboro, the second in East Bennington, Vt. third

in Troy, and reached Saratoga about six o'clock on the afternoon of the fourth. The second day's ride was most delightful. You see I had the benefit of a ride across the country, and it did not cost so much as it would to have come by Rail Road. Mr. Hawley did not make any objection to my coming. I only told him that it would be necessary for me to stay three or four weeks. I shall not go to work at printing again till *I am well.* That I decided upon when I left home. And if this does not cure me or place me in a situation to be cured, I must go onto a farm, if nothing else can be found for me to do. Time passes slowly enough with me. It seems as though I had been gone from home almost a year. And yet I am in no hurry to get back again. Nothing gives me more pleasure than to hear that your health is better. I do not see but Julia gets along pretty well, considering. Nancy has been there since a week before the Fourth of July. And Martha is there now. I was expecting to hear that she was lonesome enough after I left, but she does not show it in her letters. Mat. came there soon after I came away. You spoke in your letter about getting things for my tour. I only got some shirts and one vest. I have not had that black one on since I left home. Julia and Nancy made my shirts and fixed me off. But I will tell you all about it when I see you.

This morning Mary Clarke and myself went to Saratoga Lake, about four miles from here in the omnibus. We started from home about nine and got back about half past one. We crossed the lake in a small steamboat. On the other side is a sulphur spring. The water is the clearest I ever saw but its taste is nauseating in the extreme. Day before yesterday a company of four from our boarding house made arrangements to go, but they went off and left us because they were full. We were determined to go, some of us at any rate. So Mary and myself started this morning, Corinth did not wish to go. We had a very pleasant time. The weather for most of the time since I came here has been very warm. It is so now, but it is not, of course, equal to what you have experienced in Baltimore. Corinth and Mary

leave for home on Tuesday next. They will be obliged to stay in Albany over night. I have four or five letters to write to send by them before that time. I hope you will look about the city all you can and I am sure you will enjoy yourself much. The Major sent me an answer to my letter saying that he should be very glad to see you but should not leave home this summer. He would be glad to see you on your return home. Perhaps we had better stop in Windsor and go and see Uncle Ammi too. I am afraid he does not receive any papers since I left. Thomas Burnell is in the office yet. In fact, if it had not been for him, my journey would have cost me considerably more, or rather I would have been obliged to buy several things which he has lent me.

Give my love to them all and accept much for yourself from

Your aff. son,

JAMES."

Several letters signed R. which appeared in the Hampshire Herald during the summer of 1846, describe graphically and with all the enthusiasm of youth, the drive from Brattleboro over the [illegible]untains to Saratoga, the trip from Saratoga to New York City, mo[illegible]r as Albany by a miserable railroad, and from there down as fa[illegible]dson by boat. Two of these letters, dated from Staten the Hu[illegible]e us the assurance that he carried out his intention of Island, giv[illegible]ld home, where he found his mother who was awaiting his [illegible]ome.

He wrote two[illegible]ice also to Mr. Hawley at this time, giving his impressions of the [illegible]ity of New York, and these letters were each printed in the next [illegible] following issue of the Gazette and signed J. R. T. An extract o[illegible] two may be of interest, as showing the immense difference betwe[illegible]en the New York of 1846 and the present Metropolis.

"Among the public building[illegible]s of the city the Custom House, Merchants' Exchange, City Hall a[illegible]nd the Astor House rank first."

"The fact that the district of nea[illegible]rly 30 acres, burnt about a year ago, is now, with the exception of a few houses entirely rebuilt, shows the enterprise and activity of its business men."

"The object of greatest interest near the city at present is the encampment of the California Expedition on Governor's Island, comprising a thousand men under Col. Stevenson. They make a striking appearance in their uniforms of gray mixed cloth trimmed with red. There were also 2000 troops on the same island, whose destination was Mexico."

It seems probable that his mother did consult the Staten Island friends in regard to her son's future, but what their advice was, we have no means of discovering. We only know that he returned to Northampton and finished the period of his apprenticeship, which no doubt expired upon his twenty-first birthday in December of that year.

JOURNEYMAN

These years of faithful application to daily tasks, to study and to reading, together with his constant practice in composition, had made him a valuable member of the office force, and before the end of his apprenticeship he had not only been made foreman of the printing office, but had been entrusted often with the oversight of the editorial department during Mr. Hawley's frequent absences. It may well be believed that Mr. Hawley was glad to retain him as journeyman, and he remained in that capacity until 1849.

What others thought of his ability as a writer in those early days, may be judged by a letter, written under date of Jan. 26, 1847 by Samuel Bowles of Springfield and addressed to J. Eden, Esq., Northampton, Mass.

"DEAR SIR:

First among the published letters from Printers who were invited to attend the late Franklin anniversary at Rochester, I find one from James R. Trumbull, Northampton, covering a very able and capitally written article upon "The Press." I think if Mr. Trumbull (by the way I don't know the man) could write such articles as that, I should have heard of him before. No! my

mind, at once, turns to you as the writer of that article—so just and eloquent in thought.

I suppose you have the Rochester papers, containing these letters in reply to invitations. Just mark a coincidence in the commencement of James Harper's letter and mine—that both of us have worked with P. Canfield, the Chairman of the Committee.

If you intend to publish in the Gazette (as I understand you have the editorial chair there now) any of these letters, or mine with them, please make several corrections—Say Editor of Republican instead of Gazette—spell my name Bowles, and in the sentiment at the close of the letter, say *People's* rights, instead of Printer's rights.

Yours truly,
SAMUEL BOWLES."

This Mr. Eden, about whom I have been able to learn nothing more and who was so far as I can ascertain never editor of the Gazette, very generously turned this letter over to the young author of the article in question, which appeared on the front page of the Gazette in the issue of February 9, 1847.

But the young man's health was still precarious, and in the fall of 1848 he was again forced to seek rest and recuperation in a trip which he describes in the following letter to his sister Martha, who was still living in Westfield. The Ireland, to which he refers, is Ireland Parish, a part of Holyoke, where his Sister Julia and her family were then living.

"Northampton, Nov. 12, 1848.

DEAR SIS:

My promise to write immediately on my return from New York, remains as yet unfulfilled. It has not been for want of inclination on my part, I can assure you, that it has not been attended to before. Since my return from N. Y. I have been as busy as possible, hardly finding time to write up my other correspondence, which has been woefully behind. But now that it is all closed up, as a last tax in the way of letter-writing, I intend to trouble myself with at present, is this epistle to you.

At New York I found things situated altogether different from what I anticipated. In consequence of the prevalence of the Yellow Fever on Staten Island, Mr. Hitchcock and family had moved to the city. So I spent all of my time in the city. There were no vessels going out to sea that would return within the time I had fixed as the limit of my absence from home. As an only means, therefore, of accomplishing the object for which I left home, I took passage on board a Boston Packet for Boston, via Long Island Sound. We set sail from New York on Wednesday noon and arrived in Boston on Sunday morning. Our passage was fine. The captain said he had not experienced so smooth a passage during the season. So you see I did not obtain the benefit I anticipated. The weather was not rough enough to give scarce any motion to the boat. We had fine moonlight nights and warm sunshiny days. In fact the sun was so hot, that it burned my face to a blister. Off Cape Cod we had splendid weather, too good altogether. My stay in Boston was short. I left on Monday for Springfield in the first train. While in Boston I visited Bunker Hill Monument, but it being Sunday could not get into it, so I was obliged to remain content as one of the "outsiders." This was the only place of interest that I had even the pleasure of seeing the outside of. I arrived at home on Monday in the three o'clock train from Springfield, covered with dust, and more inclined to take a warm bath than anything else.

My health is not much benefitted by the journey, although I feel better now than when I went, but I am always better in cold than in warm weather. It is my intention to remain here through the winter, and in the spring if no better to take a trip through the western country and catch the fever and ague, curing one disease by contracting another. But at present I can determine on nothing. The result of the election, I am inclined to think, has had a good effect on my health. At all events Hurrahing for Taylor and Fillmore at the Whig Reading Room, as the returns were received, made me so hoarse that for a day or two it was impossible for me to speak much above a whisper.

The election of "Old Zack" by such an overwhelming majority has exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. We all supposed it would be a close struggle and many doubted whether he could be elected at all when they saw the feeling of dissatisfaction which pervaded some parts of the North. But enough of politics. Having elected our candidate we are satisfied, and I for one am glad the contest is so near over. To-morrow will decide the campaign both in the presidential and state elections, and no one will rejoice more than myself at its close. Julia and Nancy were both here Cattle Show. I was down to Ireland two weeks ago to-day. They were as well as common. I think Mother looks better than she did. But I am somewhat afraid she will never be contented to live where she does now. Hen. is as mischievous as ever. While I was there he heard me say something about hurrahing for Taylor, and afterwards he would "hurrah for Taylor" every little while. This was the first time he had ever heard the word used, and then only in conversation not directed to him. He will make a good whig I rather think, if his father doesn't turn Van-Burenite.

Well Martha, how are you employing your time this winter? not, I hope, as a great many young ladies with whom I am acquainted, reading novels and works destructive rather than improving to the mind. Let the reading of your leisure hours tend to instruct while it pleases—to elevate and ennoble the thoughts and feelings. I wish you were here to attend the course of Institute Lectures which are now about commencing. I hope you will write on receipt of this and tell all about what you are doing and what you propose to busy yourself about this winter.

I have not been to Southampton to spend those few weeks as I intended some time ago. Sydenham Parsons and myself went out there and staid one night last week at Mr. Theodore Parsons'. We went for the purpose of hunting and a fine time we had of it too. The squirrels, to be sure, were not very plenty, but we managed to waste some powder and shot against fences and guide boards besides killing six squirrels. We wandered all over

"Breakneck" and I thought that break-leg would be a much more appropriate appellation before we got through.

Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, Worcester and all the rest. I hope you will write soon. If I spend any time in Southampton, I shall endeavor to come to Westfield and make you a visit.

From your aff. Bro.

JAMES."

EDITOR OF THE AMHERST "EXPRESS"

With his health impaired and no encouraging prospect for the future, these must have been among the darkest days of his life, although he maintained a cheerful appearance and a brave heart. It is always darkest just before dawn, and this phenomenon of nature often finds illustration in human life. His health improved, by what means we know not, and in the spring of the next year, 1849, the reward of his devotion to duty and his persistent effort came to him in the opportunity to purchase and to become editor of the "Hampshire and Franklin Express," published in Amherst. How quickly the aspect of everything had changed! His dreams had come true! He was established in his chosen profession, in a position which he filled with success four years.

In a little less than a year after the date of the last letter, on the 6th of November, 1849, he married Harriet Kingsley, one of the prettiest girls in Northampton. She was the daughter of Edwin Kingsley, whose house and blacksmith shop formerly stood on the site of the Academy of Music. The young couple made their new home in Amherst in one half the house on Amity Street, which belonged to Dr. and Mrs. Stratton, who themselves occupied the other half. With the doctor, who was a dentist, and his wife they formed a pleasant acquaintance, which lasted as long as they lived.

Under Mr. Trumbull's management the paper prospered, and in May, 1852, its pages were enlarged from six to seven columns

and printed on entirely new type. A glance over its files for these four years carries one back to a time when other interests filled men's thoughts, to be sure, and other problems confronted them—a time, nevertheless, which was just as all-engrossing and perhaps just as important in the development of the country as the present.

The fugitive slave law and the fate of fugitive slaves are frequently discussed in these pages—a reminder that a bloody conflict was impending. The campaign of Winfield Scott, the whig candidate for the presidency, with references to the meetings, speeches, banners, etc., and especially the admonitions to the voters, all have a familiar sound. Robberies and other crimes, and also accidents to life and limb, seem as frequent as to-day, till we remember that this paper was issued but once a week instead of daily.

European news came only by the slow going ships, there was no Atlantic Cable. The question of bringing the telegraph into the town of Amherst, or at least as near as Northampton, was brought up in one of the papers with the encouraging suggestion, that only energy and initiative were needed to accomplish it.

Kossuth's tour through the United States was continually referred to and a full report given of his visit to Northampton on the 24th of April, 1852. 3000 persons were crowded into the First Church to hear him speak and $700. was raised for the cause of Hungarian Freedom.

Jenny Lind's wonderful singing, her concert in the First Church, Northampton in 1851, her marriage in Boston, her three months' honeymoon on Round Hill, Northampton during the following winter and spring, and numerous anecdotes of her generosity and her love for America, especially for Northampton, read like an entrancing story.

In those days some rather surprising projects were entertained and discussed, among others the annexation of Cuba, and the transfer of the State House from Boston to some more centrally located town in the state.

The editorials of the "Express" bear witness to the integrity and sound common sense of the editor, as well as his devotion to the whig party. In his farewell editorial, March 15, 1853, he says: "Believing the principles professed by the Whig Party best calculated to promote the permanent welfare of the country, they have ever found a prominent position in the paper. . . . Advocating always the distinctive principles of the Whig Party, it may, and undoubtedly has been his (the editor's) misfortune to utter sentiments in the excitement of a political campaign, which in calmer moments would have remained unwritten. If so, you must pardon something to inexperience and something to the heat of youthful passion."

EDITOR OF THE HAMPSHIRE "GAZETTE"

On the 15th of March, 1853, Mr. Hawley sold the Hampshire Gazette to Stephen W. Hopkins, Sidney Bridgman and Henry Childs who were booksellers and stationers and therefore needed someone to edit their paper. Their choice fell upon the young man, whose management of the Amherst Express for four years had been, as J. G. Holland states in his "History of Western Massachusetts," so "ably sustained." J. R. Trumbull was announced as editor and assumed his new duties at once. This position he maintained till January 1, 1858, when Thomas Hale of Windsor, Vermont, became half owner and editor. But Hale's connection with the paper was destined to be short-lived. Though, to quote from his own pen, "the business of the Gazette has not been so good at any time for the past five years as now," yet, "from considerations of a personal nature, and with a view to other business arrangements," he agreed to the transfer of the paper, and Mr. Trumbull bought the entire plant, assuming the control on the first of October. Mr. Trumbull then entered into partnership with Henry S. Gere, editor of the Northampton Courier, and in November of the same year the Hampshire Gazette and Northampton Courier were merged into one. For eighteen years, until Mr. Trumbull's retirement, the firm of Trum-

bull and Gere published the Gazette and Courier, and carried on a successful job printing establishment.

When Mr. and Mrs. Trumbull moved from Amherst to Northampton, they first occupied a house on Green Street, from there they moved to Maple Street, then to the Prindle House, which stood where the park next to the Academy now is. The last home they rented was in the Mayer house on Elm Street, located on the lot now vacant between Chemistry Hall and the Tenney House. While living here Mr. Trumbull built the residence at the corner of Park and Prospect Streets, completing it in 1869 and there they spent the remainder of their days.

It was during these years that Mr. and Mrs. Trumbull, having no children of their own, took Sister Julia's 12-year-old daughter Nancy into their family, regarding her always as their own, though there was no legal adoption. Her home was with them as long as they lived, and in their declining years she was able in some measure to repay them for all their goodness to her.

RETIREMENT

Meanwhile the struggle against ill health still went on, until in the winter of 1874-5 severe hemorrhages from the nose made it necessary for the busy man to drop everything and abstain from all exertion, mental as well as physical. What such enforced idleness meant to so active a man, can scarcely be imagined except by those who have experienced it, but no word of complaint ever passed his lips. For nearly two years he was unable to attend to business, and in January, 1877 he severed his connection with the Gazette and Courier.

As he grew stronger, he spent much time in the open air, displaying great taste in the arrangement of his grounds, which at that time covered an acre and a half. He took keen delight in his flowers, especially in his water garden in the lower part of the grounds, where the Smith College laundry is now being built. This was supplied from a natural spring which had been discovered when the cellar for his house was dug. This water was

collected in a tub in the upper part of the garden, thus supplying the force for a small fountain which played into the pond. At one time there were 16 varieties of water plants in the pond; and the goldfish which had been put into it, flourished until there were four or five dozen of them, which became so tame that they would eat cracker out of our hands. A pleasant part of the daily program was a walk down to the pond to feed the fishes.

Though Mr. Trumbull never became very strong after the illness which necessitated his retirement, yet his days of usefulness were by no means over. In 1876 he published a Directory and Historical Register of Northampton which contained 218 pages. In 1884 he was elected City Treasurer and filled that office six years, being elected year after year without opposition, till in 1889 he declined a renomination. He was a member of the Clark library committee for over 30 years, and in 1894 became one of the trustees of Forbes Library, holding this office until two years before his death. He was also one of the Board of Almoners for the Whiting Street Fund, and for many years clerk of the First Church Parish.

Mr. Trumbull's intense love of nature, which has appeared in his descriptions of the short journeys he took, led him to become an enthusiastic member of the Northampton Natural History Society, which was formed some time during the '80s. Among his papers is an article on the wren family, which was undoubtedly prepared for a meeting of this society. This and a collection of butterflies, which he made, show not a scientific knowledge of the subject, to be sure, but genuine interest in all living and growing things.

THE HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTON

But the most important work of his life was still to be accomplished. For ten years before his retirement, he had been looking up the early records of the town, and in 1881 he came into possession and half ownership of the Judd Manuscripts, which he and Deacon George Hubbard bought of the heirs of Sylvester Judd. These remarkable manuscripts, supposed to have been

compiled in 27 years from 1831 to 1858, are of enormous extent, comprising 54 volumes or 19,000 closely written pages.

As the Hampshire Gazette Supplement, issued in celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Daily Hampshire Gazette, states: "The books are a collection of facts relative to persons, families, records, deeds, anecdotes and of town meeting doings, of towns from Northampton to New Haven, with information about towns in Eastern Massachusetts. The four volumes on Northampton contain extracts from deeds and records, showing the allotment of home lots, long lists of inventories of estates, births, marriages and deaths. One volume relates to early families. He gave the name and site of the original allotment of lands and traced them nearly to 1800. There are interviews with many aged persons relative to ancient customs. The contents form no continuous story, and are put together just as Mr. Judd found leisure to get them."

This valuable material was of little practical use without an index, and to the work of indexing Mr. Trumbull first applied himself. This almost Herculean task occupied him for years; but at length he completed the indexes to 16 volumes, namely: eleven volumes entitled Connecticut, one of deeds and the four upon Northampton. Just when he began the work of putting the mass of material together for the History of Northampton, it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that it was about the year 1876.

My own most vivid memory of my uncle is confined to these last 25 years of his life. The regular program for the day included two hours or so spent in the garden, and it was a pleasing sight to see him walking about among his flowers, nearly always followed closely by the dog and cats, for he was a great lover of pets, and all animals recognized him as a friend. Indeed it was a common saying in the family, that they never paid any attention to anybody else when he was present. After this time in the open air, he was for the rest of the morning and a part of the afternoon to be found in his study, a pleasant southwest room

on the second floor. Here with the fire-proof safe containing the precious Judd Manuscripts at his left hand, he sat at his table, writing or pouring over the yellowed pages with their records of the past. It was a labor in which he found the keenest pleasure, and no effort, no expenditure of time necessary for the verification of his statements, was ever a burden to him. I think we scarcely realized in those days what he was accomplishing, until in December of the year 1898 he completed the publication of the first volume of his history. But before this the second volume had been practically finished; a most fortunate thing, as he was able to do comparatively little work of any kind during the last winter and spring of his life.

LAST DAYS

His last three years were marked by increasing feebleness, and though he appeared uniformly cheerful and courageous, it seems when we look back, as though he were trying to hide the melancholy realization, that his days on earth were numbered.

A package of letters, written by him during this period to the little niece of a deceased friend of the family, and lovingly preserved by her through all these years, has recently been sent to me for perusal. Although these letters are bright and entertaining, suited to the comprehension of a child, yet it is easy to read between the lines the consciousness on his part of his growing weakness and of the narrowing of his sphere of activities. A few extracts from them will serve to illustrate Mr. Trumbull's droll way of telling things as well as his habit of putting the best foot forward and making light of his infirmities.

"Prospect Cottage,
Northampton, Aug. 16, 1896.

MY DEAR MAY:

Your very nice and interesting letter was duly received and I was very glad to know that you could write so well and so correctly. It was always a great pleasure to me to get letters from Aunt Ida when she was away on her vacations, and I hope you

will find enjoyment enough in mine to enable us to keep up a correspondence that may grow in interest to both of us.

I have often thought of you during the hot days of last week, and wished that I could enjoy the bathing and the fun you have. . . . . The next thing I am expecting is that you will have a wheel of your own. Tell Mamma that will be the next thing her little girl will be teasing for, and then she will want to go to the post office every time and not give Paul a chance to get the mail . . . .

I wish you could come up here and help us feed the fishes and pet the cat. That reminds me to inquire about the kittens we saw at Duxbury. How is the little lame one and have the rest all grown up to be big cats? Our fish are as tame as ever, and always crowd to the edge of the pond when anyone goes near it, and then they are always hungry, fairly tumbling over one another to get a chance to nibble the cracker, and when the cracker is gone they bite your fingers. In the pond with the fishes are a great many bullfrogs, and a few days ago Jamie, and Nat Faxon, a cousin of his from Stoughton, came over with Jamie's air-gun and shot half a dozen or more of the frogs. They were big old fellows and the boys carried off their hind legs to have them cooked. It is said that frogs legs are equal to the nicest chicken. I never have eaten any, but am willing to take anybody's word for it, rather than try to eat them myself."

Under date of August 1, 1897, he writes:

"MY DEAR MAY:

Your letter of the 25th was duly received. I was much interested in the cobweb party, and would like to know something more about it. Were you dressed in cobwebs, and where did you get them all? Did you stand out on the lawn till the spiders spun their webs all over you, or did you have veils made of cobwebs, ornamented with live spiders in the act of catching flies? You see I never had the pleasure of attending such a party. When I was young spiders were never industrious enough to spin webs for parties. I suppose you must have a new kind

now, probably sea-shore spiders, that by constant bathing are able to work faster. When you come up to Prospect Cottage again, maybe if it is the season for spiders, we will try to get up a genuine cobweb entertainment."

The following extract is from a letter written March 13, '98.

"We were all so sorry to hear that you have been sick, and sincerely hope that you are better. We have all been hoping that we should see you at the Easter vacation. Now that you cannot come, the only way will be for us to go to Boston and visit you, but I don't know when there will be any chance of that. I am expecting to publish the first volume of my history of Northampton in June, am very much hurried in getting it out. Aunt Nan is helping me and I hardly know how I should get along without her. I hope you will get well soon, or at least well enough to come up to our sanitarium where we can cure you up with good air, green grass and lots of fun.

All of our invalids are slowly improving, and with good weather, quiet dispositions, good consciences, I think will all be better."

"March 27, 1898.

MY DEAR MAY:

As I haven't heard from you for some little time, I am very much afraid that you are worse, though I had much rather hear that you had forgotten to write, than to know that you have been prevented by sickness.

We are all slowly improving at Prospect Cottage, and hope to be all of us quite well when the spring has fairly opened.

The weather has been unusually mild for March, and we have peas planted and hotbeds made, a week or ten days earlier than usual. Our tulip and daffy beds have already started, the daffies are all in bud and will soon be in blossom. The fish-pond has been uncovered, and they are all there, Sampson, Jumbo, Siegfried, Prince of Orange and all the rest, large as life and fat as butter. We have already commenced our summer work of daily feeding them with cracker, and they all come swarming up to us whenever we go near them.

Now we all want you to pack your little gripsack, put on your little bonnet, and get inside of your little red cloak, and come up with Mary Frary, and make us as long a visit as Mamma is willing to spare you. If you are sick, we have all of us our medicine which we have to take every day, and I think we shall be willing to spare a little if you should need it. It is a good kind of medicine, is doing us all good, and no doubt will have the same effect on you.

There are lots of robins, English sparrows and other birds that I cannot name, all over the lawn, and then Bennie has found his voice, and it seems as if he could not sing enough.

Then you and I can play ball, croquet or anything we like on the lawn. There is no knowing what lots of good a little of the Prospect Cottage fresh air will do you. When you get ready to go back home, maybe we can induce one of the saucy robins to go as chaperone. If they should all decline on account of family duties, I will undertake the task myself, if you will only come."

The following letter, dated May 1, indicates that this urgent invitation was accepted, and Mr. Trumbull went as far as Springfield with the child and put her in care of an acquaintance for the rest of the trip home.

"MY DEAR MAY:

"Your unexpected letter of the 28th was duly received. You need not send me the money for the fare, but keep it as a birthday present from your *old* friend and admirer.

I accomplished all my business in Springfield and reached home in time for dinner. I suppose you had a good time on the cars with Representative Crouch, and that he entertained you so thoroughly that the way did not seem long.

I have decorated my room since you left, by hanging the American flag in the front window in the shape of a curtain. It shows that we are all patriotic at P. C., and perfectly willing that Spain should be soundly whipped. The flag shows well from the street."

Two letters, written in January, 1899, speak of his poor health.

In the first he says: "My health is improving but I am not well yet. I am not doing anything. I go down town most every day unless the weather is too unpleasant, and generally spend the afternoon on the lounge, sleeping most of the time in company with 'Nig,' the kitten."

January 16 he writes: "I felt so miserable yesterday, that I could not get up courage to answer your letter. To-day I am not feeling much better but will send you a short screed, so that you will know that we have not entirely forgotten you. I have not been out of the house for several days, and don't think I shall go to-day. I spend a good deal of the time in sleep. Most of the afternoons I am stretched on the lounge with 'Nig' for company, and we both sleep as hard as we can. In some respects I am improving but don't get strength as fast as I wish."

The letter for February 6 begins: "Yesterday I spent most of the day before the open fire in the library, holding 'Nig,' and both of us had our brains baked so hard that it was impossible for either of us to write letters. To-day I am not much better, but as I have not seen 'Nig' since breakfast, I suppose he is as well as usual."

"Northampton, March, 5, 1899.

MY DEAR MAY:

Your nice letter of the 20th came duly to hand. Your two riddles are too hard for us. The first one about the flower in the face, Mrs. Trumbull guessed at once, she said it was tulips, and I guess she is right. The other about the Spaniards is a poser. No one has had the gumption to get any answer to it as yet. It must be that our guessing caps are worn out, and we shall have to get a new supply. But in the meantime we should be glad if you will send us the answer in your next letter.

To-day is rainy and no one but Johanna [the maid] has gone to church. Aunt Nan wanted to go but the wetness overhead as well as underfoot prevented. The rest of us—well, we had our usual Sunday infirmity, and concluded that we had rather

sit by the fire in the library, and so we did. My health is somewhat improved but I havn't got entirely well yet.

We are beginning to count the days when we can again feed the fishes. They have been housed up under the ice all winter and no doubt are lonesome. Just as soon as the snow and ice are gone we shall endeavor to make up lost time and delayed cracker with them. We shall all be glad when the snow has disappeared and gardening time comes again.

If you have any more conundrums, send us easy ones. You don't know how it wrenches our intellects to try to guess such hard ones. We had a show of Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works at the Town Hall the other evening, and last night Miss Capen had it repeated in her gymnasium for the benefit of her school."

"March 19, 1899.

As usual we are all at home to-day. In fact the going is so bad that none of us dared to venture out. Everything is covered with ice, sidewalks, trees, roads and everything out of doors that has no umbrella over it. Then we are all sick. Aunt Nan has rheumatism, Mrs. Trumbull is too tired, Martha is afraid of falling on the ice and I have a bad cold. Havn't been out of the house for a week. I am improving and hope to be all right in a few days. You can imagine Prospect Cottage turned into a sort of hospital.

We were all so glad to hear from your mother that there was a chance that you would make us a visit. You don't know how rejoiced we shall be to see you once more. Perhaps you may not think it very great fun to visit a hospital, but we will try and get well before you come, and then we won't be selfish either, but will give you some of our medicine, share and share alike. Let us know in your next letter when you propose to come, and we will make all arrangements to get well before the time comes. Tell us all about how you are coming. Hope I shall be well enough to meet you in Springfield, if you come that way.

How very sad and to us very sudden was the death of Mr.

Henry Burt. He was here at the house a few weeks before his death. He was a very pleasant and agreeable man and I shall miss him very much, as we had much in common in the work we had in hand.

We all send lots of love and kisses to you all, and long for the time when you will be with us again.

From your loving friend,

J. R. T."

This visit was, I think, never made, probably because of his steadily failing health. Yet in his next letter of May 7, he still speaks of getting better. "It is about time for me to answer some of your nice letters. I am so glad that you do not wait for the invalid to answer them, but do the writing and answering yourself. I am happy to say that my health is slowly improving. I am still able to lie down, and manage to get down to the pond once and sometimes twice in a day unless the weather is bad.

Many thanks to you for the nice May flowers. They were very fresh and fragrant. It was so good of you to remember the lazy invalid of P. C. who has not had spunk enough to write even an apology for a letter.

Did Aunt Nan tell you how kind the neighbors have been? They have been sending me trout and wine jelly and cider. I suppose that is the reason that I have improved so much. I am still weak and cannot exercise scarce at all without getting very tired and out of breath. I wish you could be here with me this summer to cheer me up and do some errands occasionally.

It would be so nice if you could come with your mother. Perhaps if you coax her she will come and bring you. You could paddle in the pond with the bullfrogs and fishes, and have just as good a time as at Duxbury, and there would not be the least danger of getting your mouth full of salt water."

The very last of these letters to his "little sweetheart" as Mr. Trumbull was wont to call the child, was dated May 23, 1899. Here again he speaks of "slowly improving in health

though not yet very rugged." He mentions also the painting of the house, the garden, the cat and kittens and the fishes in the same cheerful tone.

From this time on it was a steady decline until the third of July, when he passed into the higher life. Mrs. Trumbull died in December of the same year, surviving her husband only five months.

Much has been said about the value of his legacy to the city of Northampton, and many have been the expressions of esteem and of sincere appreciation of his work. But we who knew him in his own home, cherish above all his achievements our memory of the genial, unassuming, thoughtful, gentle man. His ready sympathy and kindness, his unfailing patience and courage in his struggle against ill health, his quaint sense of humor, always contagious, even though it found expression in oft repeated witticisms, endeared him to his friends, while his calm good sense and his absolute fairness and integrity filled them with the deepest respect.

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JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
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Smith College Studies in History

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY
Editors

THE SHIP SUBSIDY QUESTION IN UNITED STATES POLITICS

By

MARGUERITE M. McKEE
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The Ship Subsidy Question in United States Politics

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of discovering a policy to improve or to regenerate our merchant marine has been before the lawmakers of the United States since the federal government was founded. In fact, it gave serious concern to the colonial lawmakers, as many statutes of the colonial assemblies indicate. The solution of the problems varied, as circumstances seemed to demand. Sometimes shipping was to be aided through preferential tonnage duties or other charges laid upon ships, with an advantage to American ships, sometimes direct subsidies were contemplated, and sometimes aid was given in generous contributions to lines that carried the United States mails. The last named method was especially favored in the era of steam navigation on the ocean. Direct subsidies have never been popular in the United States, since they are held by many people to smack of class legislation. It has, therefore, seemed better to the legislators to give aid under the guise of paying for service rendered in the transportation of mails. But whatever the form of assistance proposed, there has ever been a vigorous demand that something be done by the government to build up our merchant marine.

In examining this series of proposals it seems best to end the examination with the year 1914, since the demand made upon our shipping in that year, in order to serve a world suddenly thrown into war, brought our shipping to a sharp turn in its history. For the years before the outbreak of the war our efforts to meet the demands of this nature may be divided into four phases, each falling within a period rather well defined. The first lies within the years that precede 1845. It is a period of early experiments, in which various forms of aid were tried,

and it may itself be subdivided into other periods. The second lies within the years 1845 to 1865 and is characterized by a number of liberal votes of aid to steamship lines carrying the United States mails. The third lies within the years 1865 to 1891 and during it, the interest lay particularly in the establishment of lines to South America and the East. The fourth and last period lies within the years 1891 to 1914 and is characterized by a large grant of power to the Postmaster General for making mail contracts at a very liberal rate of compensation, the amount of which was fixed according to the size and speed of the vessels used.

Within the first period, up to 1845, governmental aid is concerned with early efforts to build up shipping. Long before their separation from Great Britain the colonies had discriminated against the shipping of non-British nations by means of tonnage and import duties. During the period from their assumption of the dignity of statehood to the adoption of the federal constitution they continued this general policy of discrimination. For many years after 1789 the federal congress was content, also, to proceed under the same general policy. After the end of the war of 1812 it did, indeed, show a disposition to follow a more liberal policy by adopting a series of reciprocity offers to other nations, looking to a mutual relaxation of restrictions on shipping. The general acceptance of these offers resulted finally in opening our trade to all ships on an equal basis and to a consequent expansion of our carrying trade on the high seas. With this development came the end of the old policy of helping American ships by restricting foreign vessels.

The second period of assistance deals with ship subsidies and lies within the years 1845 and 1865. It is characterized by mail contracts on a liberal scale. Great Britain had already adopted that kind of a policy, and Congress feared that she would monopolize the ocean carrying trade if a similar policy was not followed by the United States government. When a general mail subsidy law of 1845 failed to produce a United States line between New York and Liverpool to compete with

the British Cunard line, a special act was passed giving the Collins line, an American company, liberal mail subsidies on the terms outlined by the line itself. The act was popular in this country; but the Collins line made many mistakes and a series of misfortunes followed, so that public opinion changed. Congress and the public grew tired of the whole question of subsidies and in 1858 all contracts giving compensation to steamship lines were revoked regardless of the amount of mail carried by them.

The third period lies within the years 1865 and 1891. After the civil war came efforts to revive our shipping. Mail subsidies were again adopted with special attention given to ships going to South America and the East, regions in which there was no competition with established British lines. Contracts were made with the Brazil Line and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Unfortunately for the success of this policy the Pacific Mail Line, in attempting to obtain an increase in its subsidies, expended large sums to influence legislation in Washington. The resulting scandal effectively ended for the time all efforts to obtain new contracts or to renew existing agreements when they expired. Thus ended the third period of subsidies under a cloud of public odium.

The fourth period lies within the years 1891 to 1914. It is the third trial of liberal compensation for the transportation of mails as a means of increasing our tonnage. The basis for compensation was this time fixed according to the class of the ships used, which was determined by the size and speed of the vessel. The routes for which contracts were to be let were left to the discretion of the Postmaster-General. By 1891 European lines had been established for transportation of our foreign trade as well as our mails and the competition of these lines had to be met by our new lines established with assistance offered by the law of 1891. Perhaps because of this competition, the bids for the routes advertised were few and as time went on became even fewer. The demand of the world for ships seemed to be well supplied and wherever United States capital was available for ships, those flying a foreign flag were, for some reason

preferred. Until 1914 the greatest achievement of the law was the establishment of a United States line between New York and Liverpool.

The writer has encountered many difficulties in attempting to reach definite conclusions from the progress of the struggle between the sponsors and opponents of subsidies. Inconsistencies in the use of terms and carelessness, or worse, in the use of statistics by both sides are only too prevalent. The complexity of the ever changing economic forces which must be taken into consideraton is notable. The present discussion is only a brief history of the struggle including as few of the economic phases as is consistent with a concise general presentation of the matter.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY POLICIES

In the Colonies

From the earliest period in the history of the United States, shipping interests have carried their struggle into the political life of the nation. Before the Revolution, disputes arose chiefly over the navigation laws of Great Britain, although, even at that time there were attempts to secure bounties and to levy discriminatory duties upon the ships of other colonies and countries. Immediately following the Revolution, discriminatory duties levied against foreign ships were very common. Upon the adoption of the Constitution, this policy together with strict registry qualifications, was continued by the federal government, ending the reciprocity provisions after the war of 1812.

The navigation laws, had they been obeyed, would have prevented the American colonists from engaging in the very profitable commerce with the French, Dutch and Spanish colinies. The relationship between the foreign shipping and foreign trade, at this time, was so close that the one necessarily included the other. Because of this relationship the colonial ship owners and merchants acted together in rendering null the navigation laws through smuggling and other means of evasion.

The ships of the American colonies, during these days, were numerous and many attempts were made to encourage them. In 1729, Massachusetts, the colony owning probably the largest number of ships, boasted 40,000 tons in the foreign and coast trades, at least one half of which was engaged in the European trade.[1] In the year 1769 the colonies built and launched 389 vessels aggregating 20,001 tons.[2]

Discriminatory duties were already to be found among the many revenue measures. In 1704, Maryland levied a tonnage tax of three pence a ton on all vessels not built or owned in the

[1] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 11, p. 226.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 239n. *Journals of House of Commons 1792,* p. 357.

colony. In 1718, a similar act in Massachusetts was revoked by the Board of Trade and thereafter all British vessels were included in the exemptions granted the colonial ships.[3] A number of the colonies levied lower duties upon goods imported in their own ships other than upon the same goods imported in other ships.[4] A system of bounties for shipbuilding was tried in Virginia and South Carolina, but in each case, proved a failure.[5] The part played by Great Britain's restrictions upon shipping in bringing on the revolt of the colonies showed the importance of the carrying trade.

In the States, 1776-1789

Following the treaty of 1783, the states began to adopt tonnage and import duties which discriminated not only against the ships of other nations but also against the ships of other states. In 1874, New Hampshire levied a treble tonnage tax on foreign vessels entering her ports. By 1785 both Maryland and Virginia had made discriminations especially aimed at British ships.[6] New Jersey and Deleware were alone in taxing foreign and domestic shipping alike.[7] Evidence of a special desire to encourage Asiatic trade is found in the Pennsylvania statute which granted free importation of tea coming directly from China in vessels of the states but levied a heavy duty on the same tea imported indirectly or in foreign vessels.[8] The use of discriminating duties as a weapon against each other gave rise to much trouble and led eventually to the consideration of a constitution providing a stronger central government. Soon after the adoption of the constitution various shipping interests demanded retaliatory measures against Great Britain because of her exclusion of the United States from her West Indian trade.[9]

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[3] Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1793,* p. 128.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 128.
[5] Renninger, *Governmental Policy in aid of American Ship-building,* p. 5 and 6.
[6] Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1789,* p. 128
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Congress. Record,* Vol. 41, Part 3, p. 2452, 59th Cong., 2nd Sess.
[9] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 3, p. 63.

Discriminatory Duties under the Constitution

The protection of shipping and production of revenue by discriminatory duties, so much used in the colonies and in the states, was strongly urged upon the first Congress as were strict registry laws. There were a number of supporters of system of bounties for shipping but their efforts came to naught partially because of the failure of a similar system in the colonies. The question of what ships should be admitted to United States registry had to be decided first. September 1, 1789, a bill was passed providing that only ships built in the United States and belonging wholly to citizens thereof or belonging on May 16, 1789, to citizens of the United States of which the master was a citizen should be privileged to register under the flag of the United States.[10] The wisdom of this measure has been a subject of discussion ever since.

Discriminating duties soon followed. June 20, 1790, an act passed levying a tonnage duty of six cents on all United States vessels, thirty cents on all vessels built in the United States but owned wholly or in part by non-citizens and fifty cents on all other vessels.[11] The coasting trade was further protected by the provision that our ships were liable to the tonnage tax only once a year while all other ships had to pay the tax at each entry.[12] A discriminatory tariff allowing a 10% discount on the duty on imports to our ship owners had passed at the first meeting of Congress[13] but it was discarded at the next meeting for an increase of 10% on the duty of all goods imported in foreign ships.[14] The special protection which Pennsylvania had given her Oriental trade was also embodied in the commercial legislation of the federal government.[15] Tea coming directly from the East in United States ships was subject to a duty of from six to twenty cents a pound, while tea coming

[10] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Vol. 1, p. 55, 1st. Cong., 1st Sess., Chap. 11.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 135, 1st. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Chap. 30.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 27, 1st. Cong., 1st. Sess., Chap. 2.
[14] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Vol. 1, p. 181, 1st. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Chap. 39.
[15] *Congress. Record*, 59th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 41, Part 3, p. 2452.

indirectly was subject to a tax of from eight to twenty-six cents and if brought in foreign ships it had to pay from fifteen to forty-five cents. All other articles brought from the orient were subject to a tax of 12.5% if carried in foreign ships, a rate almost double that charged goods imported in our own ships.[16] These duties, with some change of detail remained in force until after the War of 1812. To any suggestion that the duties be removed there rose the cry—now so familiar—that Europe would then be able to undersell us because of her cheaper material, labor and crew maintenance.[17] At the mention of reciprocity with European nations, the protests continued and until 1815 were successful.

During the War, the attention of the country had been turned to the development of its manufacturing. The first protective tariff act was passed in 1816 for the purpose of preventing wholesale importation from Europe. In so far as such a measure decreased the amount of our exports and imports it might have been expected to decrease the amount of our shipping but it should not have decreased the percentage of our commerce carried in our own ships or the transportation of goods by our ships from one foreign port to another.

Shipbuilders and owners were, however, succesful in gaining two acts whch they desired at this time. The Commercial Treaty with Britain in 1818 had been met by a cry for retaliation, particularly against the closing of the West Indian trade.[18] In consequence an act was passed which imposed a tax of $2 a ton on all ships belonging to a nation or part of a nation, to whose ports United States vessels were not admitted.[19] Ship owners benefitted under this act, while the other successful measure benefitted ship builders by further restricting the ships which might engage in our coasting trade. After March 1, 1817, only vessels built in the United States and wholly owned by her citizens, with

[16] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. 1, p. 25, 1st. Cong., 1st. Sess., Chap. 2.

[17] *American State Papers,* Vol. 7, p. 503, "Protests from New York and Mass.," No. 67, 68, 69.

[18] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 2, p. 403.

[19] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 14th. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 3, Chap. 50, p. 369.

her citizens for masters, could engage in the coasting trade of the United States.[20]

While these restrictive measures were being passed, there had been a constant growth in the number of persons who thought that the United States should encourage a policy of greater freedom in navigation. That the same individuals who advocated this policy should also have favored a protective tariff shows that trade and navigation were no longer as closely allied as formerly.

In 1815 the first of a series of reciprocity offers was enacted. The attempt to change this measure to an abolition of all tonnage duties was combatted by the cry of cheaper construction and maintenance in Europe,[21] and by the use which might be made of tonnage duties to persuade Great Britain to see our point of view in the West Indian matter.[22] The laws, as enacted, authorized the president, whenever any nation offered similar privileges to the United States to proclaim that all ships of that nation, when carrying the produce of their own country might enter the ports of the United States on the same footing as our own vessels.[23] At first, few nations except those of northern Europe, which had little to offer in return, took advantage of the act and in 1824, the offer was renewed. In 1827, President Adams announced that the Conventions of 1815 and 1818, in which Great Britain and the United States agreed to repeal all extra duties as they applied to each other, had been renewed but the British Colonies were not yet included in the agreement.[24]

The increase in reciprocity was rapid from that year. In 1828 the offer was extended to include both the direct and the indirect trade of nations granting like privileges to us.[25] In 1830, all tonnage duties on United States vessels, on which two thirds of the crew were citizens, and on all foreign vessels belonging to nations which offered the same privilege to our ships, were

[20] *Ibid.*, 14 Cong., 2nd. Sess., Chap. 30, p. 351.
[21] *American State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 623, No. 250, 254, 255.
[22] Bassett, *Life of Jackson*, p. 656, 663.
[23] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 14th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 3, Chap. 77, p. 224.
[24] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 2, p. 403.
[25] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 20th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 4, Chap. 11, p. 308.

repealed.[26] By this time, the nations exchanging such privileges with the United States were numerous, including Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Norway and Great Britain, although the last of these still maintained her navigation laws.

The Effect of Legislation and Invention Until 1845

Despite the trouble with France and Great Britain and the passage of our non-importation and embargo acts the period from 1789 to 1816 was on the whole, very favorable to the shipping of the United States. The protests made to Congress by shipping interests would create the belief that the prosperity of our shipping was due entirely to the protective duties. As a matter of fact, Europe was engaged in a series of wars which prevented her from pursuing her own carrying trade. In this country, ship timber was very cheap and although labor was expensive, the daring of our sailors and the lack of competition made profits of shipping high. Neither agriculture nor manufacturing had, as yet, developed to the point where they demanded much capital. A large part of the population had been reared with traditions of the sea. Trade and shipping were still closely identified and the ordinary sailor often received a share of the profits of a voyage as well as his wages.

The increased tonnage of the period was largely due to the trade which fell to the United States ships because of the wars in Europe. A report of the House Committee on Commerce in 1822, giving a survey of the commercial policy of the United States, recognized the danger in this state of affairs.[27] The majority of the Committee feared that the increase in tonnage had claimed too much of the country's available capital for an industry which must be expected to decline, leaving too little for agriculture and manufacturing.[28] In the orient, however, our vessels had supplanted European ships because of their efficiency, particularly in the London-to-China trade.[29]

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[26] *Ibid.*, 21st. Cong., 1st. Sess., Chap. 219, p. 425.
[27] *American State Papers,* Vol. 2, Report No. 256, p. 634.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Chong Su See, *The Foreign Trade of China,* p. 292.

Just about the time when the United States began to make her offers of reciprocity to other nations, important improvements and discoveries were being made in shipping. Steam had been used as the motor power for small boats on inland waters but not until 1819, did a ship using steam, even as an auxiliary to her sail, cross the Atlantic.[30] It was fifteen years later, in 1834, that the Sirius and Great Western successfully steamed their way across.[31] From time immemorial, all vessels had been built of wood. The belief that an iron hull would naturally sink, was only slightly less fixed than the idea that iron lacked sufficient elasticity to withstand the storms of the ocean. In 1818, the first successful iron vessel was built by Thomas Wilson.[32]

In 1830, prejudices against iron and steam ships were rapidly giving way in Great Britain. Three important factors were speeding the adoption of the improvements. Iron and coal were very cheap in that country. A faster means of communication with her colonies was much needed. Moreover the United States had produced sailing vessels which were both faster and safer than her own. Therefore to keep her place in the world's shipping it was necessary for her to adopt improvements. The increased skill of her mechanics and engineers as well as the increased output of her manufactures, both due to the industrial revolution, aided greatly in laying a firm foundation for her merchant marine in the future.

To insure herself of a line of steamers between England and America, Great Britain decided to subsidize a mail line. About 1830, Mr. Samuel Cunard of Halifax had wished to run a line of steamers from Halifax to Liverpool, but for various reasons had not succeeded.[33] Although the Great Western had made 74 trips without governmental aid,[34] Mr. Cunard, now associated with the firm of Cunard, Burns and McIver, underbid more experienced firms and received the contract. The terms of the

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[30] *Savannah*, Liverpool to Savannah.
[31] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping*, Vol. 4, p. 179.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 983.
[33] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping*, Vol. 4, p. 179.
[34] Spears, *The Story of the American Merchant Marine*, p. 252.

original contract required two voyages a month and the placing of three wooden ships in the service, for £55,000 a year or $2,291.66⅔ a trip.[35] These requirements were later so changed as to demand four ships and the compensation was increased to £81,000. The Company began service on July 4, 1840.[36] There has been discussion as to whether this form of compensation for carrying foreign mails was really a subsidy or merely compensation for the special speed and safety provided. Since it was listed under the expenses for mail transportation and bore no relation whatsoever to the amount of mail carried, it may properly be called a subsidy.

Great Britain was only just beginning her subsidy policy. Another British contract was soon let for service wholly in America. It was awarded to William Wheelright, a citizen of the United States, for the purpose of operating a line of steamships along the coasts of Chile, Peru and Bolivia.[37] This contract was unique in that the vessels would touch no port in, or belonging to, the British Empire. Thus a foundation was laid for British shipping in South America.

For various reasons the United States was very reluctant to admit the practical value of improvements in ocean transportation. Coal and iron were both expensive here. Our sailing vessels were proving their superiority to the world. So good was the reputation of these vessels for safety that, in the trade between Liverpool and New York, they were given preference over British ships both in rate of insurance and in freight.[38]

Throughout the entire period our tonnage continued to expand,[39] but some signs of decrease in growth began to show themselves before the end of it. The proportion of our imports and exports carried in our own ships began to decrease soon

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[35] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 179.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 316.

[38] Spear, *The Story of the American Merchant Marine,* p. 226, Quoting from *London Courier* of Aug. 18 and 20, 1836. Report of Committee of House of Commons on Shipwrecks.

[39] *House Ex. Docs.,* 43rd. Cong., 1st. Sess., No. 183.

after the close of the war of 1812.[40] In the decade from 1830 to 1840 this percentage dropped from 89.9% to 82.9%.[41] During the same period the percentage of our tonnage to all that entered and cleared from our ports, fell from 88% to 69%.[42] The total foreign commerce of the United States more than doubled in value amounting to $144,366,428 in 1830 and $239,227,465 in 1840.[43]

Thus the decrease in the percentage of our commerce carried in our own ships seems to have begun soon after the War of 1812, while discriminatory duties were still in force. Other avenues had been opened to our capital, however, and European nations were, once more, in a position to pursue their own shipping.

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[40] *Appendix to Congress. Record,* 46th. Cong., 3rd. Sess., Vol. 2, Part 3, p. 205.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Report of Com. of Navigation,* June 30, 1910, p. 174.

[43] *Appendix to Congress. Record,* 46th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 11, Part 3, p. 205.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST SUBSIDY PERIOD, 1845-1865

Initial Efforts

When the shipping interests of the United States observed the success of the Cunard Line, they began to fear that Great Britain would replace our ships with her own. Requests from the Atlantic coast that the United States adopt a mail subvention system, were numerous. President Tyler strengthened these pleas in his fourth annual message with the suggestion, that Congress provide for the establishment of a line of steamers for the transportation of the mails between the United States and foreign ports. He, also, pointed to the example set by Great Britain, as one worthy of imitation.[1] At length, a bill was introduced in answer to the petitions.

This first subsidy bill met with much the same opposition and support that has greeted every such measure since, although the debate that followed was less bitter. Its supporters protested; that the merchants of this country needed better communication with other countries, that such communication would greatly improve our commerce, that the Cunard line was able to charge excessive freight rates because it possessed a monopoly, and that there was danger of United States vessels being driven from the Atlantic. The opponents of the bill claimed, that it was unconstitutional, and in any case unwise, that our mails were already sufficiently safe and swift and our shipping prosperous.[2]

Notwithstanding these objections, Congress passed a law, March, 1845, providing for aid—the first of our ship subsidy acts. It was a general type of which there have been examples since—notably the Postal Law of 1891. It authorized the Postmaster General to make contracts for the transportation of the mails between the United States and whatever foreign ports of Europe, Central and South America, he thought advisable. Such con-

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 4, p. 350.
[2] *Congress. Globe,* 28th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 14.

tracts were to be made with none but United States citizens who offered to place in the service, vessels of United States registry. No contract could be made for less than four nor more than ten years.[3]

One important contract resulted from the act. In 1846, Edward Mills agreed to run four steamers between New York and Bremen via Southampton and Havre for ten years. For this service the United States, on its part, agreed to pay $100,000 a year.[4] The contract was later assigned to the Ocean Steam Navigation Company and so changed as to provide for service between New York and Bremen, *via* Cowes, for which the Company was to receive $100,000 a year for each ship, and for separate service between New York and Havre, *via* Cowes for which the yearly compensation was to be $75,000 a ship.[5] This was the first line of ships to receive a grant of government aid from the United States. The ostensible purpose of the line was to provide a quicker means of communication with European markets and to prevent our mails being delayed in England until British merchants had been informed of the state of the markets.[6] Because the Ocean Steam Navigation Company was unable to provide full service, of 12 trips to Havre and 12 to Bremen, yearly, until 1851, the contract was extended in 1852 to 1857.[7] The service provided thereafter seems to have been highly satisfactory, judging from reports of the Postmaster General, but no notable increase in the trade between the United States and Europe, due to this line seems to have taken place, nor did our shipping increase except for the four ships provided by contract, because of it.

Since the grant of power to the Postmaster General for making contracts did not produce sufficient results, Congress decided to provide full service, of 12 trips to Havre and 12 to Bremen,

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[3] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 28th Cong., 2nd Sess. Vol. 5, Chap. 69, p. 749.

[4] *Appendix to Congress. Globe,* 13th Cong., 1st Sess.., Vol. 22, Part 2. p. 1293.

[5] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping,* p. 38, 39.

[6] *Appendix to Cong. Globe,* 13th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 22, Part 2, p. 132.

[7] Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies,* p. 150.

contracts were provided for, one of which, the Collins contract, will be discussed later. The other two contracts were for service in our own hemisphere. The first of them was made with Mr. A. G. Sloo for bimonthly trips between New York and Chagres. Five steam ships of at least 1500 tons each were to be put into the service at a cost to the government of $290,000 yearly. The company provided fairly satisfactory service during the term of the contract.[8]

The second contract was for a route closely allied to the first but which proved of greater interest. It provided for the transportation of mails monthly between Astoria and Panama, thus furnishing the Pacific arm to the route from New York to Astoria, *via* Panama. The contract was first awarded to Mr. Arnold Harris, who agreed to put three steamers into service for the yearly compensation of $199,000.[9] Almost immediately the contract was turned over to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company (H. W. Aspinwall).[10]

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company was of particular interest because the territory to which it was undertaking service was new. It proved to be the largest maritime undertaking yet made in the United States.[11] The "California" of this line, which left New York on October 6, 1848, was the first steamer to fly the Stars and Stripes in the Pacific.[12] The success of the line depended largely on the development of the west and the discovery of gold played a much more important part in making the line pay than the mail subsidy. The wholesale exploitation of the western mines and lands, allowed by the government, was certainly sufficiently important in the development of the line to compensate the company for the risk it ran in opening up the West but much was to be made of the risk in later requests for assistance.

Before 1857, there were numerous unsuccessful attempts to

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[8] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 29th Cong., 3rd. Sess., Vol. 9, Chap. 62, p. 187.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies,* p. 152.
[11] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 155.
[12] *Ibid.*

obtain governmental aid, of which two were of special interest. One measure attempted to gain votes by solving both the shipping problem and the problem of free negroes. It provided for a line, subsidized by the government, to transport free negroes back to Africa.[13] Our African trade, it was claimed, would be greatly benefitted. The other bill, supported by Californians especially, provided for government aid for the establishment of a line of steamers between San Francisco, the Sandwich Isles and Japan. Such a line, it was hoped would turn our Eastern trade, still carried by our sailing vessels to London, directly to California.[14] The bill was unsuccessful at the time but was to bear fruit later.

The Collins-Cunard Contest

The success of the Cunard Line was especially annoying to various groups of eastern ship owners and merchants. Accordingly, in 1846, Mr. E. K. Collins, who had previously operated a line of sailing packets between New York and Liverpool[15] suggested that, if the government would consent to grant him certain assistance, he and his colleagues would undertake to run a line of superior steam ships between New York and Liverpool, which would compete with and vanquish the Cunarders in speed and efficiency. The suggestion was placed before Congress in the form of a special mail subsidy measure.

The debate in Congress was much more animated than the discussion of the bill of 1845, but it reached nothing like the heat with which subsequent measures of its kind have ever been discussed.[16] The supporters of the bill were chiefly Whigs, who believed in a protective tariff, who were interested in commercial relations and who were fervently opposed to the loss of our flag from the seas. The opposition with which the bill was met by the South was due to the fact that, as an agricultural section, the South was not much interested in shipping. Southerners

[13] *Congress. Globe,* 31st. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 21, p. 1868, 1869.
[14] *Ibid.,* 33rd. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 28, Part 2.
[15] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 105.
[16] *Congress. Globe,* 29th. Cong., 2nd. Sess.

looked upon aid to shipping as merely another form of government aid to industry, to which they objected so strongly in principle.

There were three important arguments in favor of the bill. The increased mail facilities would, it was hoped, result in increased trade. Five splendidly constructed ships would be added to our merchant marine and these ships could with great facility be turned into war vessels. The possibility of turning merchant steamers into useful war vessels was warmly questioned. Both sides quoted the same authorities with equal finality.[17] The real opinion of such men as Admiral Perry, so often quoted, seems to have been that, although the ships could not be of the type usually necessary for actual naval combat, they would be most useful as armed transports, colliers and general auxiliaries.

On March 3, 1847 the so-called "Collins Act" became a law.[18] It authorized the Secretary of the Navy (not the Postmaster General) to accept immediately the proposition made by Mr. Collins and his associates. The company agreed to construct steamships, under the inspection of a government naval constructor, which could be converted at the least possible cost into naval vessels. When completed, these ships were to be put into service between New York and Liverpool and were to carry United States mails. They were to carry four midshipmen of the navy and one agent of the Postmaster General on each trip. The steamers were to be wooden paddle wheelers of 2,000 tons or more each and fast enough to better the time of the Cunarders. They were to make twenty trips a year for which the Company was to receive $385,000 or $19,250 a trip.[19]

The owners of the Collins Line soon discovered that their contract, although its terms were of their own suggestion, was rather too exacting. In 1849, finding that they were unable to find dock accommodations for side wheelers of 3,000 tons, they

[17] *Congress. Globe,* 29th. Cong., 2nd. Sess.
[18] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 29th. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 9, Chap. 62, p. 187.
[19] *Ibid.*

obtained from Congress an extension of time before the beginning of the service.[20] At length, in 1850, the first trip was made. The next year a bill was passed placing the steamers under the exclusive control of the company as long as no war threatened.[21]

The ships put into the service, were scarcely fit for ocean transportation. United States ship builders had been successful in the construction of wooden steamers for inland waters and were too apt to apply the same plans to ocean steamers. The Collins ships had been designed by George Steel and were built of live oak and pitch pine by Brown of New York.[22] The keels of the vessels were 277 feet long, being only 40 inches underneath the engines and with "give" enough to rack the engines to pieces.[23]

Soon after the Collins Line began to operate vessels, the Cunard Company became uneasy. The Cunarders had been charging £7 a ton for freight from Liverpool to New York and £30 for passage. When ships flying the United States flag happened to be in Liverpool, it was common for the rates of British steamers to be cut. Mr. King stated to Congress that on one occasion one of the fastest vessels afloat had been forced to leave Liverpool without a cargo because of such a cut in Cunard prices.[24] The Collins line, by cutting its freight rates to £4 a ton had forced the Cunarders to adopt this as their permanent price also. Great Britain, however, increased the annual compensation of the Cunard Line to £173,340.[25]

The Collins Line had hardly more than started to operate its ships before it requested, through friends in Congress, an increase in the amount of its subsidy.[26] The increase in the Cunard subsidy, the character and speed of the ships, the success in beating the best records of the Cunarders and the cut in freight rates,

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[20] *Congress. Globe,* 30th. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 20, p. 647.
[21] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 31st. Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 9, Chap. 34, p. 626
[22] Lndsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 195.
[23] Spears, *The Story of the American Merchant Marine,* p. 252.
[24] *Appendix to Cong. Globe,* 30th. Cong., 1st. Sess. p. 936.
[25] Bates, *American Navigation,* p. 343.
[26] *Congress. Globe,* 32nd. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 24. Part 2, p. 1199.

were urged in support of the petition.[27] A message from the Postmaster General stated that the number of trips of the Cunard Line was about to be increased to twenty-six yearly at an increased subsidy. The Collins Line wished to increase the number of their trips also. Senator Seward argued that if the United States ships did not make as many trips as the British ships, the latter would soon monopolize all the trade. The Cunard Line had already put into operation a line of small steamers, between Antwerp and Liverpool, upon which all goods bound for America in ships of that company were carried free of charge.[28] This had, of course, tended to discourage both the Collins and the Bremen Lines.

Congress tried hard to discover exactly how matters stood but was met with many difficulties. In proof of the fact that the Collins Line was not profitable, the Company offered to relinquish the contract to any person or group of persons willing and qualified to undertake the service. When Congress tried to find out the cause of the losses, they learned that the vessels built for the company had been extravagantly fitted out at great cost. To meet this and other expenses, the Company had been grossly overcapitalized. The comparison between the costs of the Cunarders and those of the Collins ships were hopeless. Mr. Seward stated that the Collins Line was forced to pay for insurance at the rate of six per cent while the Cunard Line received the same protection for three per cent.[29] Wages on the former, it was claimed, aggregated one-third more a ship than those on the latter. The opponents of the increase argued that these statements were not true and if they were true would merely prove that the line had been grossly mismanaged.

One of the strongest arguments of the opponents was that the vessels, subsidized with the idea that they could be used in war, were absolutely useless for such a purpose. Great Britain, they pointed out, whom some legislators seemed so anxious to

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 1200 and following.
[28] *Congress. Globe,* 32nd Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol 24, Part 2, p. 1163.
[29] *Ibid.*

follow, was building only screw propelled ships for her navy. Side wheelers, with their propellers above the water line could too easily be put out of commission.[30] Senator Rusk's argument that Great Britain was only adopting the screw because she was making over sailing vessels which could not be turned into side wheelers carried little weight with the group of determined opponents but seemed to be more acceptable to the majority of Congress.[31] Senator Rusk was probably quite sincere in his statement because in 1852, screw propelled ships could not compete with side wheelers in speed because of imperfections in the engines which had not yet been properly adapted to the screw.

That the Collins ships did not have to meet certain difficulties was brought out clearly. The cost for fuel and repairs was greatly increased by the speeding necessary to make better time than the British ships. The very short stay in port allowed by the terms of the contract made it very difficult to obtain and load a cargo. Moreover the Company did cut freight rates from £7 to £4 a ton.

These arguments seemed sufficient to the majority of Congress, for in 1852 the amount of subsidy was increased to $33,000 a trip and the number of trips to 26 annually, exactly as the Company had requested.[33] This was an increase of $273,000 a year over the former contract but even that concession could not save the Collins Line.

A Reaction in Public Opinion

The increase in this subsidy seemed to crystallize the objections to the whole policy. The Collins Line was, of course, the first to feel the waning of its support. The other lines had not long to wait, however; for the act of 1858 effectively ended, for the time, all mail subsidies. Not until after the Civil War was interest in them revived.

Beginning with the year 1854, misfortunes seemed to follow the Collins Line. Much objection had been made during the

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[30] *Congress. Globe,* 32nd. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 24, 25.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 32nd. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 10, Chap. 139, p. 239.

earlier part of the year to the monopolistic qualities of the contract and great emphasis had been laid on the unverified offer which enemies of the line claimed had been made to persons for the same service at less cost to the government.[33] In September, 1854, the "Arctic," one of the company's vessels sank.[34] In 1855 the Cunard Line launched their first iron steamer, the "Persia." It had a gross tonnage of 3766 tons and succeeded in making the trip to New York in 9 days, 4 hours and 35 minutes, thus bettering the best Collins record.[35] In 1856, the "Pacific," another of Collins ships disappeared from the ocean and was never heard from again.[36]

In spite of the growing impatience with the whole subsidy question, Congress had, out of sympathy for the loss of the "Arctic," passed a bill giving the company two years in which to replace the ship, without loss of compensation for mail transportation.[37] Franklin Pierce, then President, declared that the line had already received far too much indulgence from the government and returned the bill with his veto.[38]

By 1856 Congress had become thoroughly tired of the whole Collins record. Accordingly, the subsidy was reduced back to $385,000 a year and the number of trips required cut down again to twenty yearly.[39] In 1858, the contract was terminated[40] and the line was discontinued with it. Although Collins went into bankruptcy because of losses on this line, the British Inman Line unaided by any subsidy, immediately took up the schedule of the Collins Line and successfully carried on the trips.[41]

The reaction of public opinion also affected the other subsidized lines. The contract with the Ocean Steam Navigation

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[33] *Congress. Globe,* 33rd. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 29, p. 152.
[34] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping,* p. 54, 55.
[35] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 225.
[36] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping,* p. 55.
[37] *Congress. Globe,* 33rd. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 30, p. 1155, 1156.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 34th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 11, Chap. 162, p. 102.
[40] *Ibid.,* 35th. Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 11, Chap. 164, p. 364.
[41] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 4, p. 252.

Company expired in 1857. The Postmaster General requested its renewal for the sake of our European mail service but Congress refused to act.[42] The Bremen Line was discontinued in 1858 but the Havre Line managed to keep on without the subsidy until 1861.[43] The Sloo contract and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company contract were both allowed to expire[44] but the second of these companies had become sufficiently established to continue service without government aid.

In 1858 all government contracts for foreign mail service were abrogated by Congress.[45] During the period from 1847, when the first contract was made with Mr. Mills, to 1858, when all contracts were terminated, the United States had spent approximately $14,400,000 for the transportation of mails over the six subsidized routes.[46] To prevent any possible misunderstanding of its intention, Congress added to the law a provision forbidding the Postmaster General to contract for carriage of foreign mails for a longer period than two years or for a rate of compensation greater than the sea postage, in the case of foreign vessels, or the sea and inland postage, in the case of United States vessels. This act continued in force until 1865.[47]

Under the provision of the act of 1858, twenty-five contracts were made, the first beginning in 1858 and the last ending in 1879. The cost of these contracts to the government was only $1,315,850 of which a large part was paid by the postage collected.[48] Of the contracts made four were with Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt for service to Southampton, Bremen, Havre and New Orleans and San Francisco and two with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Under them, three new mail routes were established—Baltimore

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[42] *Congress. Globe,* 34th. Cong., 3rd. Sess., Vol. 34, p. 1193-4-5.
[43] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping,* p. 39.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 35th Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 11, Chap. 164, p. 364.
[46] Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies,* p. 156.
[47] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 35th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 11, Chap. 164, p. 364.
[48] *Congress. Record,* 49th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 17, Part 3, p. 2758.

to Liverpool, Havana to Vera Cruz and San Francisco to Japan, China and Australia. With the exception of the contract with the Atlantic Company, which carried mail from New York to Havana from 1868 to 1873, not one of them was renewed at the end of the first two years.[49]

During the Civil War, in its efforts to obtain revenue, Congress completely overlooked the former efforts to encourage a merchant marine. In 1861, it levied a duty on most of the materials used in ship construction.[50] Again in 1864, it levied a direct tax of two per cent. on the hull of each and every ship built in the United States.[51] This tax only lasted until 1866, but during those two years it helped to retard the recovery of our marine.[52]

Effect of the Policies of Our Own and Other Governments

As in the early history of our shipping, the policies of other nations during the period from 1845 to 1865 effected our merchant marine, although not in as great a degree as our own policies. France had played a much less important part in competing with our ships than Great Britain. Her wholesale adoption of a subsidy policy was so often used by our legislators to prove the uselessness of all subsidy measures that it must be taken into consideration. About 1861, France began to grant shipping bounties, construction bounties, and naval subventions. Her merchant marine, as a result, grew slightly but her whole economic situation was highly unfavorable.[53] Her ships did not particularly trouble either ours or Great Britain's but they did increase the tonnage supply of the world.

Changes were taking place in Great Britain which were to effect more vitally our merchant marine. In 1849, following up her earlier concessions, that nation repealed her Navigation Laws,

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[49] *Cong. Record,* 49th Cong., 1st Sess. Vol. 17, Part 3, p. 2758.

[50] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 36th. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 12, Chap. 68, p. 181.

[51] *Ibid.,* 38th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 13, Chap. 173, p. 267.

[52] Renninger, *Governmental Policy in Aid of Ship Building,* p. 38.

[53] Meeker, *Pol. Sci. Quarterly,* Vol. 20, p. 599.

throwing her trade open to the world.[54] Her foreign trade noticeably increased. This increase was probably due more to her increased production caused by the early institution of the factory system in that country, than to her repeal of the Navigation Laws. At any rate her demand for ships increased with it.[55] During the Crimean War, the government used subsidized merchant vessels as transports most successfully. This use had cut down the supply, already smaller than the demand, and consequently raised profits. Following the Treaty of Paris in 1856, there was a strong movement in ship building which resulted in an over supply.[56]

Although the British Government had repealed all its protective measures, Lloyds had just started theirs. To replace the protection afforded formerly by the government, they began a system of careful discriminations in their classification of ships. All iron and steam vessels were to be rated above any wood or sailing vessel, as these types were disappearing from the British Marine. Lloyds, further, refused to inspect vessels which were being built in the United States and ruled that no ship, not inspected while under construction would be eligible to the first class.[57] Because of the acceptance of Lloyd's classification as proof of the reliability of a vessel by merchants the world over, such rating was almos a necessity, and for ships trading with British possessions an absolute necessity. British marine underwriters, which were in the habit of furnishing marine insurance to the merchants of all nations, accepted Lloyd's classification as the basis for their rates.[58]

In the matter of her ships, Great Britain was also improving, In the fifties she began to build clipper ships which could compete with our own. Our clipper ships had hitherto been doing a large part of the carrying trade between London and China.[59] In 1856,

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[54] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 3, p. 286.
[55] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 3, p. 364.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Bates, *American Navigation,* pps. 305, 309.
[58] Johnson and Huebner, *Principles of Transportation, p.* 450.
[59] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping,* Vol. 3, p. 288.

the "Lord of the Isles" built by Scott and Greenock, beat two United States clippers in a race to London.[60] With this victory, began the rehabilitation of the British carrying trade in the East, to the cost of our sailing vessels. Improvements in her steamers were also taking place. The screw propeller replaced the paddle wheels in the newly built vessels of the Inman Line in 1850.[61] In 1854, the Allan Line adopted the screw for its commercial ships. The Cunard steamers were not replaced by the screw propelled ships until 1862, but even then, they were some years in advance of us.

In considering the effect of our own policies upon our shipping, the period divides itself easily into the years from 1845 to 1858 in which subsidy contracts existed and the years from 1858 to 1865 after all such contracts had been terminated. The increase in foreign trade during the first section may be easily attributed to the growth of the country, as the slump in the second section is attributable to the war.

The increase of trade between the United States and Europe might have been due to several causes. The fast luxurious ships of the Collins Line must have tempted a large number of passengers to visit Europe or the United States. The passenger traffic did increase five fold between 1845 and 1853.[62] Some of this increase must be credited to the Cunard and Inman Lines, however, and a large part of it to conditions in Europe. The famine which swept Ireland in 1845-1847, sent hundreds of immigrants to the United States. The increase in the amount of mail sent between the United States and Europe can be accounted for by this large immigration and by the increase in the trade of a growing country.

Our total trade had decidedly increased during the period. The value of our imports and exports in 1845 was $231,901,170 and in 1858, $607,257,271.[63] Our total registered tonnage

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 294.
[61] Johnson, *Ocean and Inland Transportation*, p. 28.
[62] Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping*, Vol. 4. p. 225.
[63] *Appendix to Congress. Record*, 46th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 11, Part 3. p. 205.

increased from 904,476 tons in 1845 to 2,301,148 tons in 1858,[64] but the percentage of our commerce carried by our own ships had decreased from 81.7% to 73.7%.[65] Therefore it would seem that the increase in trade caused the increase that took place in tonnage rather than *vice versa*.

With or without government aid the years following would have been disastrous to our shipping. The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, interrupted a large part of our trade, particularly in cotton. The insecurity of northern vessels on the sea persuaded a number of owners to change their ships to foreign registry, and at the end of the war Congress saw fit to forbid the return of such vessels to United States registry.[66] During the short period between 1861 and 1865 due to losses from transfer and sinkings, our tonnage decreased from 102,608 tons to 98,002.[67] In 1861, 70% of our foreign commerce was carried under our flag while in 1865 it had slumped to 47%.[68]

Whether or not the protective tariff, reintroduced after the war played a part in the continued decline of our merchant marine and whether the subsidy policy was really an aid to shipping are both questions still; but it is certain that after the subsidy had once been introduced, Congress chose a very poor time for its withdrawal.

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[64] *House Ex. Docs.*, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., No. 183.
[65] Note 63.
[66] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 39th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 14, Chap. 8, p. 3.
[67] *Statistical Abstract 1900*, Report No. 23.
[68] *Report of Com. of Navigation 1910*, p. 74.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND SUBSIDY PERIOD, 1865-1891.

In 1863, a group within the Republican party began to support a policy which might encourage our declining shipping. They were particularly anxious to develop our commerce with South America and the East. They also turned to the postal subsidy as the best means of aiding the merchant marine although this was not the only form of assistance they supported. At the time, both the government and the available capital of the country were facing a vast problem in the reconstruction of the South and the development of the West.

The Brazil Line

The first successful bill of this class was for service to Brazil, and became a law May 28, 1864.[1] It authorized the Postmaster-General to let a contract to the lowest responsible bidder for a steamship mail route between New York and Brazil. Only a bidder acceptable to the government of Brazil could be considered. Brazil considered the establishment of a direct line of communication with the United States so important that she had offered to join with us in subsidizing such a line. Any company undertaking the service, therefore, would have little fear of being compelled to fight the kind of competition which the Collins Line encountered. The terms of the contract were expressed in the act of 1864.[2] The Postmaster-General could only accept a bid, after proper advertising, from parties agreeing to perform 12 trips out and back each year in United States ships. The contract was to continue for ten years beginning September 1, 1865. First-class vessels of at least 2,000 tons burden, acceptable after expert inspection to both the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of the Navy were to be placed in the service. Each ship was to carry free of further charge, a mail agent of each government.

[1] *U S. Statutes at Large,* 38th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 13, Chap. 98, p. 93.
[2] *Ibid.*

The maximum amount which the United States should pay, as its share of the subsidy was fixed at $150,000. In addition to this amount, however, all vessels engaged in the service were to be exempt from all port charges or customs house dues in the United States, provided that Brazil should grant similar privileges.[3] A futile attempt was made by Senator Wilkinson of Minnesota to include a route to Venezuela in this bill; because that nation had already entered into negotiations with a New York firm for services between New York and LaGuayra.[4]

The success of this effort to encourage our trade with Brazil was very doubtful. When the route was advertised, only one response was received. The bid came from the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company. It was accepted and the service, begun in 1865, continued until 1875. When the contract expired in that year, the steamship line went out of existence with it. Too many factors must have entered in, to cause the increase or decrease of the trade between the two nations to allow very much importance being given to such growth in trade, in studying the success of the line. Nevertheless this means of estimation seems to be the best available.

In view of the situation, the following statistical survey of the trade may be found instructive. The value of the trade of the United States and Brazil for the year ending June 30, 1865, amounted to $16,317,605 of which $6,533,293 was in exports from the United States to Brazil and $9,784,312 in imports from that country.[5] For the ten-year period immediately preceding 1865 the total value of the trade was $212,198,690 of which $49,530,598 was in exports and $172,668,092 in imports from Brazil, the total trade averaging for this period $21,-219,869 a year. For the years 1866 to 1875 inclusive the total amounted to $356,721,564 of which $62,079,614 was in ex-

[3] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 38th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 13, Chap. 98, p. 93.
[4] *Congress. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 44, Part 3, p. 2283.
[5] Report of Bureau of Statistics, "Commerce of the U. S. with Europe and with American countries (1851-1895)," p. 66. These figures are not all quoted but are computations made from the tables there given.

ports to Brazil and $294,641,950 in imports, making the average total a year $35,672,156.40 as compared with $21,219,869 for the previous period. For the year ending June 30, 1875 the last year of the line, our total trade was $49,662,728 but of this only $7,634,865 was in exports to Brazil.[6] Thus we have the same trade for the ten years preceding the establishment of the line and for the ten years during which the line was in operation.

A comparison of these figures with the value of the trade for the ten years following the last trip of the line gives some interesting results. The total value of the trade from 1875 to 1885 was $548,064,669 of which $83,203,321 was in exports to Brazil and $464,861,348 in imports, making an average total trade of $54,806,466.90 a year. The total trade of the last year of the period was only valued at $52,521,695 but it is only fair to add that from 1885 to 1889 there was a decided drop in the trade between the two countries which seemed to have no connection whatever with the shipping of either. A comparison of the average yearly trade for each of the three periods shows that the trade of the second period, the one, during which the Brazil line was in operation, was worth 168 + % of the average for the previous period, while the value of the average for the decade following the expiration of the line, 1875-1885, only equalled 156 + % of the average for the ten years during which the line was in operation.[7]

From these figures certain indications can be noted. The growth of trade during the ten years in which the line operated ships was greater than the growth in the following decade. How little of this increase was in exports from the United States to Brazil can be seen from the most cursory glance at the figures already given. Even if the increase in trade could be directly traced to the steamship line, it would be questionable whether that increase were sufficient to justify the expenditure of $150,000 a year. The line has been dismissed as of no importance by

[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

such economists as Dr. Meeker because it was unable to outlive the subsidy.[8] The increase in the growth of our trade during the existence of this line, although almost entirely due to growth in the amount of our imports from Brazil, cannot be altogether discounted.

The expiration of the contract was allowed in spite of the protests of both the Postmaster-General and the President. In his message of December 2, 1872, President Grant referred to the recommendation of Postmaster-General A. G. Creswell, that the number of trips of the Brazil Line be increased and the contract, at its expiration, renewed.[9] Congress was not to be persuaded either then or later, and when the line ceased to exist the transportation of the mails was taken over by the British "King Line."[10]

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company

While the Civil War was still in progress, agitation for a mail line to the East was revived. Senator Latham of California, in 1862, introduced a bill providing for a steamship mail line to China,[11] to increase our commerce and form a patrol to police the China Sea and the Indian Archipelago. This bill failed but in 1864 a more successful measure was formulated and passed in February 1865.[12] There was no pretense that the mails would require such a service for some time to come, but it was hoped that our tonnage might be increased and the trade turned to California from the Suez route.

The terms of the contract to be made were carefully enumerated in the act. It authorized the Postmaster General to invite bids for a line of steamships to run between San Francisco and some port or ports in China *via* Honolulu, Sandwich Island and Japan. Only first class vessels of 2,000 tons at least and of

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[8] Meeker, *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Vol. 20, p. 604.

[9] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 7, p. 198.

[10] *Exec. Docs.*, 44th Cong., 1st. Sess., No. 1, Part 4, -"Report of Post master General."

[11] *Congress. Globe*, 37th. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 42, Part 1, p. 13.

[12] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 13, Chap. 37, p. 430.

United States registry could be accepted for the service. At least twelve trips out and back were to be made each year and the maximum compensation was fixed at $500,000 a year.[13] The service was to begin on September 1, 1866 at the latest.[14] This was subsequently changed to January 1, 1867 and the requirement for vessels of 2,000 tons was changed to 3,000 tons.[15]

The contract had hardly been let before further changes were made. The only bid resulting from the advertisements of the Postmaster-General came from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which had formerly transported mails from New York to Aspinwall (Chagres) and from Panama to San Francisco. A contract containing the above terms was made with them to last for ten years beginning January 1, 1867.[16] Before the Company had ordered ships for the execution of the contract, it was discovered that both British and French Lines intended to compete with the United States Line for the trade. It was decided, therefore, that ships of 4,000 tons would have a greater chance of success.[17] The expense of building such ships would be, of course, much greater. After discussing the matter with a number of Congressmen, the Company decided to build the larger boats in the hope that Congress would allow them to cut down their expenses by omitting the stop at Honolulu. After the 4,000 ton vessels had been ordered, it was found that such ships could not enter the harbor at Honolulu. After some discussion the request was granted.[18]

Wooden vessels, for some reason, had been considered especially fitted to the Eastern trade. Accordingly, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had constructed wooden vessels of the side wheel type for the contract service. Some time before, Great Britain had begun to discard her wooden vessels in the East but

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[13] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 13, Chap. 37. p. 430.

[14] *Congress. Globe,* 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 45.

[15] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 38th. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 13, Chap. 37, p. 430.

[16] Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies,* p. 160.

[17] *Congress. Globe,* 39th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 46, Part 4, p. 3530, 3536.

[18] *Congress. Globe,* 39th. Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 4, p. 3536.

the majority of our ship owners still persisted in their belief in the ultimate success of the wooden ship.

The progress of the execution of the contract, was anything but tranquil. By 1871, the Company decided that an increase in the amount of compensation was needed. The Collins Line, it will be remembered, had served but two years before it requested an additional amount. Like the Collins Line, the Pacific Mail Line suggested that extra service was needed.[19] Congress, feeling that the Company had been the sole bidder for the route and had acted in good faith in carrying out the contract[20] enacted a law in January 1872, which authorized a contract for twelve additional trips at an additional $500,000 subsidy.[21] For the extra service, however, iron steamships were required. In his message of December 1, 1873, President Grant expressed his utter approval of the policy of liberal payments for the transportation of foreign mails.[22]

The Company was not prepared for requirement of iron vessels, however, and they were unable to secure such ships within the period expected. Accordingly, the Postmaster-General in his report for the year 1873 submitted to Congress the request that the Company be permitted to place other ships in the service until iron vessels could be completed. The Company expressed its willingness to transport mails on the extra trips for sea postage only, until the new iron ships could be ready.[23] Congress, of necessity acceded to the request.

Rumors had long been afloat concerning the methods by which the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had obtained the extra subsidy. It was openly stated that the Company had spent something like $100,000 in Washington during the passage of the bill. To discover the truth of the matter, Congress appointed a committee

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[19] *Congress. Globe,* 41st. Cong., 3rd. Sess., Vol. 53, Part 3, p. 1698.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 41st. Cong. 3rd. Sess., Vol. 17, Chap. 256, p. 199

[22] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 7, p. 106.

[23] *Exec. Doc,* 43rd Cong., 1st. Sess., No. 1, Part 4, p. 9, "Report of the Postmaster General."

to investigate the whole question. On February 27, 1875, this committee submitted its report to the Committee on Ways and Means.[24]

The evidence obtained was of a very unsatisfactory character but sufficiently strong to cause the repeal of the additional subsidy. It was ascertained that about $900,000 had been spent by the company. By various transfers of the stocks, Mr. A. B. Stockwell, President of the Board of Directors of the Company had paid $565,000 of the company's funds, to persons more or less familiar in Washington although having no direct connection with the House, for the purpose of supplying a powerful lobby. Due to the refusal of Mr. W. S. King, former Postmaster of the House, to testify truthfully, it was impossible to discover exactly who had received the other $335,000, but the evidence indicated that some of it had passed through the hands of, if it did not remain with, persons officially connected with the house although not members of it. The unfortunate choice of Mr. Stockwell in selecting the time when the measure was before Congress, to manipulate the stock of the company in Wall Street, added to the suspicion against the company.[25] The Committee on Ways and Means considered the evidence sufficient to report itself in favor of a repeal of the additional subsidy. With little opposition the repeal passed.[26]

The Pacific Mail Company and the whole mail subsidy policy was discarded by this unwise action. In 1875, the contract with the Brazil line was allowed to expire.[27] In 1876 the Pacific Mail replaced the old wooden ships by the iron steamers constructed for the extra service, perhaps in the hope of regaining public favor. In 1877, however, the contract expired and there was very little effort to renew it.[28] Thus ended the second attempt at mail subsidies in the United States.

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[24] *House Reports,* 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 268.

[25] *House Reports,* 43rd Cong., 2nd. Sess., No. 268.

[26] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 43rd. Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 18, Part 3, Chap. 128, p. 340.

[27] See above, p. —.

[28] *Congress. Record,* 44th. Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 4, Part 6.

The effect of this line on our Eastern trade was disappointing. Trade there was still carried on chiefly in sailing vessels and the mail steamers seem to have had little or no effect. In 1867 when the service began, the exports from China to the United States were valued at 7,493,318 tael and imports into China from the United States at 702,683 T, totalling 8,196,001 T. During the period from 1867 to 1874 the largest total commerce between the two countries amounted to 13,690,393 T, but of this only 410,405 T. were in imports into China. The large total of that year was due, according to our consular reports, to the large exportation of tea to the United States. The largest importation into China during the period took place in 1869 when she imported from the United States goods worth 1,543,991 tael chiefly in cottons. By 1874, our trade had so declined that the total reached only 7,498,933 T of which only 294,612 T were in imports into China.[29] The foreign trade of China during the period, however, had grown steadily.[30] From 1864 to 1877, the tonnage of the United States vessels entering and clearing from Chinese ports had declined from 2,609,390 tons to 556,112 tons while the total foreign tonnage had decidedly increased.[31] Statistics of our trade with Japan for the period are very unreliable and difficult to obtain, but on the whole the trade seems to have remained stagnant.[32]

Other Subsidy Measures

Three other mail subsidy laws were enacted during this epoch, but only one of them was put into effect. Soon after the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been released from its contract to stop at Honolulu, a bill was introduced by Mr. Conness of California to authorize the Postmaster-General to advertise for bids for a line of steamships to transport mails between San Francisco and Honolulu. The bill as originally introduced fixed the max-

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[29] *House Exec. Doc.*, 44th. Cong., 1st. Sess., No. 166, p. 249, etc.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] Chong Su See, *The Foreign Trade of China*, p. 295.
[32] *Reports of Com. of Navigation 1864-1867.*

imum compensation which might be paid the line at $100,000 a year but this was reduced to $75,000 ere the bill passed.[33] The bid of the California, Oregon and Mexico Company, the sole bid received, was accepted. The contract provided for a ten year term of service, beginning not later than January 1, 1868. The service was discontinued by the Company, however, in 1873, after having cost the United States $425,000 for six years service.[34] That either the commercial or political interests of this country were benefitted by this line would be hard to prove.

The first of the subsidy measures which were enacted but not enforced was signed in 1868. It was not strictly a postal subsidy measure because the compensation was to be in proportion to the amount of mail transported but the line was to be given monopoly privileges. The law authorized a contract with the Commercial Navigation Company for the transportation of all the mail between the United States and European nations for fifteen years. A weekly or semi-weekly service to Queenstown, Southampton and Bremen was to be performed by seven new iron ships. Besides the monopoly of the mail transportation, the Company was to be given the special privilege of issuing bonds to the value of $250,000, which might be registered with the Postmaster-General, who was to pay, out of the mail receipts, the interest on the bonds. The amount which the Company might receive in sea and inland postage was limited to $400,000 a year, after which it could receive sea postage to the amount of $600,000 a year.[35] The mail service would have suffered under this act because the foreign lines, then transporting our mails, provided four trips each week. The Postmaster-General, therefore, failed to make the contract.[36]

The other mail subsidy law enacted but not enforced was not passed until 1885. In his message to Congress of December

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[33] *Congress. Globe,* 39th. Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 47, Part 3.

[34] *Exec. Doc.,* 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Doc. 1, Part 4, "Report of Postmaster General."

[35] Signed July 27, 1868, "Report of Postmaster General 1869," *Exec. Doc.,* No. 1, Part 4.

[36] *Ibid.*

1, 1883, President Arthur suggested that Congress encourage the establishment of a line of steamers to Mexico, Central or South America.[37] As ever, the ghost of the Pacific Mail Scandal walked at this suggestion. Nevertheless in 1885 a bill was passed authorizing the Postmaster-General to advertise for foreign mail steamship service including transportation across the Panama Isthmus. A maximum rate of compensation for contracts under this law was fixed at fifty cents a mile. For the entire extra cost which this might entail, $800,000 was appropriated.[38] There was nothing in the law compelling the Postmaster-General to advertise for such service. Accordingly Postmaster-General Vilas took no action. President Cleveland in his first message to Congress stated that Mr. Vilas had made the decision with his approbation; that the amount appropriated would not have been sufficient to provide fifty cents a mile for the entire foreign mail service; and that he considered it unjust to give the maximum to some and not to others. In any case, he considered that the sea and inland postage was quite sufficient since it amounted to three times as much as was necessary to secure transportation in foreign vessels over any route.[39] Thus the law was rendered valueless.

In 1875 Congress had expressed its opinion of the whole subsidy question in a resolution, stating that no subsidy either in money, bonds or public lands, indorsements, or pledged public credit ought to be granted by any future Congress to any association, engaged in public or private enterprize, but that all appropriations should be limited to such amounts or purposes as might be imperatively demanded by the public service of the government.[40] In spite of the Act of 1885 this resolution formed the basis for the governmental policy of the next 16 years.

Repeal of Duties on Materials for Ship Construction

Of the other various means advocated for encouraging shipping, the only successful measures were those repealing the duties

[37] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 7, p. 622.

[38] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 48th. Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 23, Chap. 342, p. 387.

[39] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 8, p. 353.

[40] *Congress. Record,* 45th. Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 7, Part 1, p. 625.

upon materials used in ship construction. In 1872 an act providing for free importation of all lumber, timber, hemp, manila, iron and steel rods, bars, spikes, nails and bolts and copper and composition metals necessary for the construction or equipment of vessels built in the United States was signed. Ships built of materials so imported could not engage in the coasting trade for more than two months in any one year without the payment of the duties.[41] This measure, for the purpose of decreasing the cost of ship building was little used by our ship builders in the construction of ships for our own registry because of the feeling that at some future time such ships might be put into the coast trade. In 1890 the second law of this series was enacted. The first law had not been sufficiently extensive to include all the materials necessary for iron and steel ships. All such materials were included in the second act but the restriction upon vessels so constructed against partaking in the coasting trade for more than two months in any one year was still retained.[42]

Policies of Other Nations

During this period the policies of Great Britain and Germany were of importance to our shipping. Great Britain continued steadily to outdistance the United States. Her system of mail subventions was continually extended although even in 1894, according to a report of our Commissioner of Navigation, not more than three per cent of her total tonnage belonged to the lines receiving financial aid from the government.[43] This seems to refute the argument that mail subsidies created monopolies. Many forces were still at work in favor of her marine. She still held an advantage over the rest of the world because of her lead in the industrial revolution. She was still ahead in the perfecting of the steel screw propelled steamers. Her shipbuilders had the advantage of long exerience and many orders. While granting free trade politically, her shipping reaped the advantage of Lloyd's protection.

[41] *U. S Statutes at Large,* 42nd Cong., 2nd. Sess., Vol. 18, Chap. 315, p. 238.

[42] *Ibid.,* 51st Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 26, Chap. 1244, p. 613.

[43] *Report of Com. of Navigation 1894,* p. 91.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century other nations took up the policy of granting aid to shipping. France, which had begun her direct assistance in 1861 continued to extend her system but without noticeable improvement in the condition of her marine.[44] In Germany matters were very different, however. The unification of Germany was only completed in 1871 and in 1886 the first mail subsidy was granted. For the transportation of mails to Australia and Eastern Asia, Germany promised to pay the North German Lloyd 4,400,000 M. annually and this rate was later increased.[45] Under this system the rate for each mile was lower than under Great Britain's but the rate for each pound of mail transported was much higher.

Results of Our Own Policies

All the means tried, to regenerate our merchant marine in this period, were unsatisfactory in their results. The decline in our carrying trade seems to have been equally rapid with or without a subsidy. Beginning with the fiscal year 1865, when the percentage of our foreign trade carried in our own vessels was 27.7%, this percentage increased until 1870, when it reached 35.6% after which a steady decrease began. In 1877, the last year of the subsidy period proper, our ships were only carrying 26.9% and in the year 1891, but 12.5% of our foreign commerce.[46] The tonnage entering and clearing from our ports in 1865 was 47% of our own, 28% in 1877, and 20% in 1877. In 1887 a rise in this percentage was noticeable and in 1891, our vessels made up 24% of all those entering and clearing from our ports.[47] This last set of percentages presents no idea of the number of ships entering or clearing in ballast. From a comparison of the two sets of percentages, however, it looks as if our vessels formed a good part of those entering and clearing in

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[44] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 19.

[45] Meeker, *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Vol. 20, p. 598.

[46] *Report of Treasury Dept.*, prepared by Bureau of Statistics, "Foreign Commerce and Navigation of U. S. 1903, Vol. 1.

[47] *Report of Com. of Navigation, June 30, 1910*, Bureau of Statistics, p. 174.

ballast or only partially loaded, or that they were more active in the transportation of the less valuable goods. The latter was probably chiefly responsible for the seeming inconsistencies in the figures, because our steam tonnage was still very small, being in 1890 equal to only 192,705 tons of a total of 928,062 tons of registered shipping.[48]

Whatever the policy of our government, the whole situation of the country, after the Civil War was unfavorable to the rehabilitation of a merchant marine. Railroads were opening up the West and for years, all the available capital in the country, and much more, could be employed there at a high rate of interest. For twenty years after the war, the navy was neglected so that improvements in shipping and shipbuilding from that source were not available. The tendency to cling to the old wooden ships and sailing vessels has already been discussed. The principal exports of the nation, grain and cotton, could be carried in such ships but even for this trade, iron steamers were preferable. The cheapness of the iron ships built by other nations and the cheapness of labor abroad made the building of iron steamers here unprofitable. Still Great Britain managed to compete with the lower costs of Norway and Germany. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, by bringing Europe so much nearer to the East, in that direction, together with the establishment of British mail lines to the East, ended our carrying trade there. Thus at the close of the period, it seems that something more than a mail subsidy was needed to regenerate our marine.

[48] *Statistical Abstract,* No. 32, 1909, No. 1875.

CHAPTER V.

THE POSTAL SUBSIDY PERIOD, 1891-1914

The decrease in our registered tonnage continued until the outbreak of the European War in 1914. A number of attempts were made to check this decrease, of which the most important were those of the subsidy group. Several Congressional investigations into the cause were made but the results were far from satisfactory. European nations continued to extend their subsidies and the organization of pools and other forms of combination was extended to the ocean carrying trade.

The Law of 1891

By 1889, the need for another postal subsidy measure was beginning to voice itself. President Harrison recommended "a liberal appropriation for mail service between our ports and those of Central and South America, and of China, Japan and the important islands in both the Atlantic and the Pacific."[1] In his message of July 2, 1890, he transmitted to Congress the hope, expressed by the members of the International American Conference, that they might co-operate with the United States in adopting measures to improve the means of communication between the United States and Central and South America.[2] On the same day Senator Frye introduced two bills, one (S.3738) for the establishment of a postal subsidy and the other (S.3739) for a shipping bounty.[3] The enormous expense entailed in the latter would alone have been sufficient to kill it at that time.

President Harrison continued his appeals while the postal subsidy bill was being debated. He urged particularly some measure which would supply a means for the transportation of mails between the United States and Australia.[4] New South Wales and New Zealand had been paying £37,000 annually to the Oceanic

[1] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 9, p. 56.
[2] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 9, p. 77.
[3] *Congress. Record,* 51st. Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, Part 7, p. 6907.
would have been sufficient alone to kill it at that time.
[4] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 9, p. 124.

Steamship Company which had been carrying mails between San Francisco, Sydney and Auckland at a cost to the United States of approximately $46,000 a year. This contract was about to expire and the British Colonies had notified the United States that they would not renew it unless she paid a more adequate share. Special legislation for this route was not forthcoming.

The General Postal Subsidy bill, with some alterations was, however, passed on March 3, 1891.[5] It authorized the Postmaster-General to contract for service over any route, at his own discretion. It required three months of public advertisement of any route before any bid could be accepted for it. Only vessels built, owned and officered by United States' citizens could be used in the service. All vessels were classified by the law and the maximum rate of compensation determined by the class of the ship. The first class consisted of iron or steel steamships of 8,000 gross tons or more, capable of a speed of twenty knots an hour. This class of ships only was to be eligible for service to Great Britain and the maximum rate for such vessels was four dollars a mile. The second class consisted of iron or steel steamships of 5,000 gross tons or more, capable of a speed of sixteen knots an hour. The maximum rate of compensation for vessels of this class was two dollars a mile. The third class consisted of iron or steel steamships of 2,500 gross tons or more, capable of a speed of fourteen knots an hour. This class of vessels was eligible for not more than one dollar a mile. The fourth class consisted of iron, steel or wooden steamships of 1,500 gross tons or more, capable of a speed of at least twelve knots an hour and might not receive greater compensation than two-thirds of a dollar a mile. All ships, except those of the fourth class were to be built under the superintendency of the naval department and special attention was to be given to "facile conversion" into naval auxilliaries. The ships were to transport, free of further charge, a mail messenger and to carry one American boy under twenty-one as an apprentice, for every 1,000 tons of the vessel. Like all other postal subsidy

[5] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 51st. Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 26, Chap. 519, p. 830.

measures, it contained provisions for *pro rata* deductions from the compensation in case of failure to perform any part of the service.

The execution of the act proved disappointing to its supporters. Steamships could continue to carry mail for the compensation according to weight, as provided in the regulations made by the Department in 1886, as authorized by the law of 1872,[6] and some of them did. At any rate there was little evidence on the part of steamship companies of enthusiasm for the new provisions. On December 9, President Harrison reported to Congress that fifty-three routes had been advertised as follows: ten to Great Britain and Europe, twenty-seven to South America, three to China and Japan, four to Australia and the Pacific Islands, seven to the West Indies, and two to Mexico.[7] It was especially desired to establish at least one line to Great Britain and the continent because all of our European mails were dependent upon foreign ships for transportation but at first there were no bids for this route. By December 6, 1892, only eleven of the fifty-three routes advertised had been established.[8]

Under the efforts of President Harrison bids were encouraged and a contract for the transatlantic route finally made. The International Mercantile Marine Company contracted to construct five ships of 10,000 tons each, costing from $9,000,000 to $10,000,000. A bill, admitting the ships, the "City of New York" and the "City of Paris," to our registry was then passed so that seven ships might be placed in the service. The line was begun in 1894 and in 1914 it was still running.[9]

President Harrison's efforts to make the law effective were soon counteracted. President Cleveland believed that only the repeal of our registry laws would "turn into American hands the millions now paid to foreigners for transporting American passengers and products across the sea."[10] Consequently he believed

[6] $1.60 a pound for letters in U. S. ships.
[7] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 9, p. 199.
[8] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 9, p. 199.
[9] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 42.
[10] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 9, p. 552.

that the law of 1891 would do more harm than good and was particularly proud in cutting down government expenses by abrogating contracts which the previous administration had worked so hard to obtain.[11]

Following Cleveland there were a number of chief executives who favored liberal mail payments but under whom the number of contracts continued to decrease. By 1908, there were only eight in force. The service between San Francisco and Australia had been discontinued in March 1907. The mails previously carried by this line were taken over by the Australian line from San Francisco and the Canadian line from Vancouver, which alternated with each other, thus providing fortnightly service.[12] By 1913, the number of contracts had dwindled to six and one of these, that with the American Mail Steamship Company, which carried mail from Boston and Philadelphia to Jamacia, was discontinued in that year.[13] In 1914 the five contracts still continued; one with the American Line, previously known as the International Merchantile Marine and as the International Navigation Company, from New York to Southampton, one with the Oceanic Steamship Company from Sydney to San Francisco, which had been resumed in July 1912, one with the New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company between New York and Vera Cruz and two with the Red D Line between New York and Venezuela, one to Puerto Cabello, and one to Maracaibo.[14]

The failure of the law to produce the desired results was admitted by both its friends and its enemies. By 1910 twenty ships had been built under the law and of these two, the "St. Louis" and the "St. Paul" built in 1895 for the International Mercantile Marine, were vessels of the first class.[15] Of the fifty-three routes advertised by Postmaster-General Wanamaker in 1891, only five contracts were in operation in 1914. Not even the Panama Canal Act of 1912, allowing foreign built vessels to receive the

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 539.
[12] *Report of Second Assis. P. M. G.*, Nov. 23, 1908.
[13] Hanchett, *Government Aid and Commercial Policy*, p. 312, 313.
[14] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 42.
[15] *Congress. Record*, 61st. Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol 45, art 6, p. 6286.

benefits of the act, if owned and registered in the United States, was successful in reviving more than one contract.[16] The law succeeded, however, in establishing one United States Line between New York and Southampton, which continued to transport mails under its contract even when the mails became so large that compensation upon the basis of weight would have been more remunerative.[17] By 1914 the law had lost its essential character as a subsidy because the mails transported under its provisions would have cost more if transported under the regulation price of eighty cents a pound for non-contract service.[18]

The law seems to have had very little effect upon either our tonnage or our trade. During the years between 1891 and 1914 our entire foreign commerce increased in value from $1,656,540,-812 to $3,785,468,572 but the percentage of it carried by our own ships decreased from 12.5% to 9.7%.[19] The decrease in the percentage of our own tonnage in all that entered and cleared from our ports was only 2%.[20] From 1891 to 1909 the total registered tonnage of the United States decreased to 878,523 tons.[21] The increase in our trade was chiefly in the European trade, with which we were so well connected by European lines.

The failure to provide adequate steamship service to South America was one of the most deplored faults of the law. The Red D. Line established to Venezuela had no positive effect on our commerce. In fact our exports to Venezuela decreased after the foundation of the line. The reports of various consuls collected for the Sixty-first Congress[22] showed that United States vessels seldom entered South American ports, that any such vessels entering there were usually sailing vessels. All the reports urged the establishment of lines of fast steamers, sailing under the United States flag. One of our representatives to Brazil reported

[16] Oceanic Steamship Company—Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 42.
[17] *Congress Record*, 61st. Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 46, Part 2, p. 1814.
[18] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 42.
[19] *Statistical Abstract 1917*, Report No. 244, p. 339.
[20] *Report of Commissioner of Navigation 1910*, p. 339.
[21] *Statistical Abstract 1919*, No. 175, p. 302.
[22] *House Doc. No. 881*, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1909-1910.

that Europe was fostering her South American trade by placing new fast ships in her direct routes to South America and the older ships into the routes between the United States and South America.[23] Our consul at Hamburg, however, reported that the South American carrying trade was oversupplied and in consequence the Hamburg-American line had suffered losses on their route from New York to Brazil.[24] In this direction the law had failed.

Later Futile Attempts at Legislation

The inadequacy of the subsidy provided in the law of 1891 was blamed for the disappointing results. Its supporters therefore, soon set to work to increase the assistance given. President McKinley in December, 1899,[25] after pointing out the difficulty with which the government had met the need for merchant vessels as naval auxiliaries in the East and in the West Indies during the Spanish American War, said: "Other great nations have not hesitated to adopt the means required to develop their shipping."[26] President Roosevelt expressed his feeling that it was "unwise from every standpoint for the United States to rely on foreign ships," and later in the same speech[27] that the large fast ships of other nations were almost all subsidized.

Thus encouraged, the advocates of the subsidy introduced a new flood of postal subsidy and direct shipping subsidy bills into Congress. The Hanna-Payne bill in 1899 attracted nation wide discussion.[28] Following close upon its defeat came the Frye bill of 1900.[29] By limiting the proposition of the subsidy to be spent on the Pacific Coast to 30% of the whole, this bill alienated many friends of the policy. The next important measure, the Gallinger bill,[30] was introduced after two years of investigation by a special

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 31, "Report of George E. Anderson, July 30, 1909."
[24] *House Reports,* Report 881, p. 947, "Report of Consul General Robert."
[25] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* Vol. 11, p. 115.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 499.
[28] *Congress. Record,* 55th. Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 32, Part 1, S. No. 5590.
[29] *Ibid.*, 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 33, S. No. 727.
[30] *Ibid.*, 58th. Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 39, S. No. 6291.

committee[31] but like the others it met defeat. Another bill was soon introduced by Senator Gallinger[32] but it was killed in the House by a substitute which also attempted to save the Australian service and to establish a line to Brazil by increasing the maximum compensation allowed to the second class of vessels under the Act of 1891 to the maximum allowed the first class. Even the substitute, however, met a decided defeat.[33]

Results of Congressional Investigation

The report of the committee which formulated the Gallinger bill was important, although the evidence obtained by the committee could hardly be called conclusive. At President Roosevelt's suggestion Congress appointed a committee of five senators and five representatives to make inquiries into the causes for the decline of our merchant marine and to decide upon some means of regenerating it.[34] The committee was appointed in April, 1904, and began investigations at once.

Much attention was given to the alleged differences between the initial and subsequent costs of United States ships and of those of other nations. Ship owners, ship builders, merchants and seamen were summoned to testify. There was little doubt that before 1891, it had been cheaper to build iron ships in Great Britain than in the Unitel States. From the testimony of ship owners, construction costs here were still from 20% to 100% greater.

Various reasons were given for this difference. The number of ships built by British ship yards was so large that greater efficiency was possible. In the United States not a single keel had been laid for our foreign service from 1901 to 1906.[35] All labor was said to be much cheaper in Great Britain than the same labor here. Over the comparative prices of iron and steel in the

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[31] *Merchant Marine and Fisheries Commission App't,* 1904.

[32] *Congress. Record,* 60th Cong., 1st. Sess., Vol. 42, Part 3, S. No. 28.

[33] *Congress. Record,* 60th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 42, Part 3.

[34] *Senate Reports 2755,* 58th Con., 3rd Sess., Vol. 3, 5, "Merchant Marine and Fisheries Com."

[35] Dunmore, *Ship Subsidies,* p. 32.

two countries, there was much dispute. In 1900 some Clyde ship builders placed orders for steel plates in the United States thus saving £50,000 on 150,000 tons of plates. [36] This evidence was hardly conclusive as to the permanent prices but since 1910, according to a report of the Commissioners of Navigation, steel plates have been cheaper here. In 1890, Mr. Cramp declared that ships of a certain class could be built as cheaply in the United States as in England.[38] The entire evidence of the committee did indicate that construction costs were cheaper in Great Britain but the proportion of the prices could not be determined.[39] Owners in Great Britain had also the advantage of paying for the construction of their vessels partly in cash and partly in marine notes.[40] In the United States the ship builder could not grant this privilege because such notes were not negotiable on our market.

The difference of opinion as to the relative cost of maintenance in the two countries was more pronounced. It was admitted that the United States required her ship owners to furnish better food and quarters to their crews than did other nations, but this is a small item. The question of relative wages was much disputed. The testimony of seamen and officials of seamen's unions was that the port of hire determined the wages of the crew. Ship owners and shipbuilders, on the other hand, were almost unanimous in declaring that at any port, higher wages were demanded from a ship flying the United States flag.[41] Senator Frye prepared a table of wages paid to the crews on several vessels of the same type and tonnage, sailing under different flags, which he claimed to be representative. The total monthly wages paid by the United States vessel amounted to $1,385, of the British $851.69, of the German $646.33, and of the Norwegian $510.42.[42]

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[36] *Congress. Record,* 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 34, Part 2, p. 1610.
[38] *Congress. Record,* 56th. Cong , 2nd. Sess., Vol. 34, Part 2, p. 1401.
[39] *House Reports 2755,* 58th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 3-5.
[40] *Congress. Record Appendix,* 62nd Cong., 3rd. Sess., Vol. 44, Part 5,
[41] *House Report No. 2755,* 58the Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 3-5.
[42] *House Report No. 2755,* 58th Cong., 3rd Sess.

The bill formulated by the Committee to meet these differences in costs was debated to death in the Senate.

The defeat of this and other bills in Congress, during the early part of the twentieth century was due to a division of opinion among the friends of shipping as to the best means of encouraging it rather than to any lack of interest in the encouragement of shipping. The movement for some form of discriminating duty to protect our shipping strengthened but not sufficiently to gain its ends. The fight for further exemptions from duty on goods imported for shipbuilding was more successful. In 1909 all materials of foreign production, necessary for the construction of vessels for foreign account or for employment in our foreign trade, including the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, were admitted duty free as were all materials necessary for the construction of machinery or articles of equipment or for the repair of such ships. The length of time during any one year, in which vessels so constructed might partake in the coasting trade was increased from two to six months.[43]

The Panama Canal Act sounded the final victory of this group and the partial victory of the numerous persons desiring the complete renovation of our registry law. This act, passed in 1912, permitted vessels owned by United States citizens or by corporations, organized and chartered under the laws of the United States or of any state thereof wherever built, not over five years old at the time of application for registry, if certified by the Steamship Inspection Service as safe to carry dry and perishable cargo, to be registered in the United States. Such vessels might only engage in trade with foreign countries, Guam, Tutila and the Philippines and could in no instance enter the coasting trade. All vessels built in the United States and registered under our flag, whether constructed of imported or domestic materials were to be freely admitted to the coasting trade.[44]

When the war broke out in 1914, Congress was considering

[43] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 61st Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 36, Chap. 6, p. 87.
[44] *U. S. Statutes at Large,* 61st Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 36, Chap. 6, p. 87.

two measures for the further encouragement of our marine. The first was the repeal of the five year restriction in the Panama Canal Act. This had been suggested in March, 1914, by the Secretary of Commerce and was still pending in August.[45] The other was for the purpose of providing some means of breaking the influence of the very powerful "Shipping Trust" which was getting control of the South American trade, under the lead of Herr Ballin of the North German Lloyd and of the firm of Lampert & Holt of Liverpool.[46] No successful measure had been formulated when the war ended the need of it for the time.

The Condition of the Shipping in Other Nations

Among the European nations before the war there were three of particular interest for purposes of comparison. Belgium while maintaining sixth place among the nations of the world in her foreign trade, was only sixteenth in the size of her merchant marine.[47] Not only was she lacking in interest in her own merchant shipping but she subsidized several German Lines to insure their calling at Antwerp and not Rotterdam. Thus apparently Belgium offered excellent proof of the fact that it is unnecessary for the sake of foreign commerce to maintain a large merchant marine in ordinary times. Belgium's position was unique, however, in that her neutrality was supposedly guaranteed and a large part of her industrial development was carried on by French, German and English capitalists.[48] The second nation, Norway, was noted for its large merchant marine and its lack of commerce. This condition Dr. Meeker attributed to the lack of natural resources in Norway which make even the small profit to be derived from shipping desirable.[49] Norway's per capita tonnage, with very little governmental assistance was greater than that of Great Britain.[50] The third nation, France, like Bel-

[45] Hanchett, *Government Aid and Commercial Policy*, p. 302.
[46] *Congress. Record*, 61st. Cong., 3rd. Sess, Vol. 46, Part 2, p. 1345.
[47] *Jones, Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 123.
[48] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p. 123.
[49] Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies*, p. 644
[50] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping*, p .110.

gium in possessing a small merchant marine, attempted by lavish assistance to establish one, but the futility of her attempts is generally admitted.

Great Britain, as a nation dependent upon her imports for food and as the center of an empire has had to insure her own communication with her colonies and the sources of her food supply. Her use of the subsidy has been for the purpose of establishing such lines of communication. She has never subsidized the majority of her ships. In the early part of the twentieth century she began to fear competition from Europe as she had feared it from America at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The synopsis of a report of a select committee of the British Parliament, delivered August 1, 1901, concerning the heavy loss of British trade with eastern South Africa, and the accompanying loss in shipping showed that Great Britain was afraid of the rivalry of the subsidized lines of other nations, especially of Norway and Germany and of the lower costs of construction and maintenance of Norway.[51]

In 1903, fearing that the Cunard ships might fall into the hands of the United States because of the affiliation with American capital, she made a new contract with the Cunard Line.[52] Under the terms of this contract, the sale of vessels or change to any other flag without the consent of the British Government was forbidden.[53] At least three-fourths of the crew as well as all the officers were required to be British subjects.[54] In return the government increased the mail compensation to £168,000 and the admiralty subvention to £150,000.[55] In addition a large loan was to be made the Company for the construction of new ships.[56] At the same time a contract was made with the American Line to prevent the change of registry of its British ships.[57]

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[51] *Senate Documents,* 57th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 12, No. 101.

[52] *British S. S. Contracts Summary of Commerce and Finance for July 1903.*

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 13-14.

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

[55] *Ibid.,* p. 14.

[56] *Ibid ,* p. 17.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 1.

Thus Great Britain even before the war was feeling a loss in her control of the seas.

By far the best example of the successful subsidization of shipping before the war was to be found in Japan. About 1870, Japan began to undergo an economic upheaval. Having started the revolution of most of her industries, in 1880 she turned her attention to shipping. In that year her total tonnage amounted to 89,000 tons.[58] By 1913, Japan possessed a steam fleet of 1,514,000 tons in spite of the fact that most of her iron ore had to be imported. She has used her tonnage chiefly in the East[59] and has constantly encouraged it by a series of subsidy laws, so formulated that the government has almost complete control of the subsidized lines.[60] Doubtless Japanese shipping would have grown just as her other industries did, but without the assistance given the growth would in all probability have been much slower since a consolidated statement of the earnings and subsidies of the Japanese lines from 1904 to 1913 showed that, except for the years, 1904, 1905 and 1913, the total amounts received for the subsidies was greater than the net earnings, so that, without the subsidies, in all but three years, no dividends would have been declared.[61] The eventual success or failure of this system was still a question when the outbreak of the war created an enormous demand for ships and disseminated any danger of an over supply.

A general survey of the shipping history of the world shows that, since the introduction of steam as a motor power for ocean going vessels, most of the important nations of the world have at some time granted subsidies to some part of their merchant marine. The success of this policy has always, however, been difficult to ascertain. In countries, where the general conditions were favorable to a merchant marine, tonnage has increased steadily under subsidization, while in countries where conditions were highly unfavorable, the subsidy has not been successful.

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[58] Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies,* p. 143.
[59] Demangeon, *Le Decline de l'Europe,* p. 65.
[60] Pepper, *American Foreign Trade,* p. 269.
[61] Jones, *Government Aid to Merchant Shipping,* p. 223.

Except in the case of Japan, subsidies seem to have had little permanent effect upon the tonnage of the nation granting them.

Up to 1914, the only form of shipping subsidy ever granted in the United States was the payment of very liberal compensations for the transportation of the mails. From the establishment of a definite foreign mail service, our own steamers have always received a higher rate for transportation of our mails than has been paid to foreign ships. The three periods, during which contracts were let for mail service, for which the compensation was to bear no relation to the amount of mail carried were at very different stages of our development. Nevertheless the policy was not successful in any one of them, although the law of 1891 did establish a line of steamers flying our flag between the United States and Great Britain which had existed for twenty years in 1914.

That in time of peace, no nation has need of a merchant marine of her own for economic reasons is undoubtedly true. There is no more reason economically why we should not buy our transportation, than why we should not buy our cereals. The political importance of the merchant marine, which has been admitted, in some degree by all economists, becomes, however, very much entangled with the economical existence of the nation as soon as war occurs. Therefore, unless wars are surely obsolete, a merchant marine is necessary.

Whether the best means of obtaining such a marine is to subsidize shipping is a question. There were several indications before the war that the economic conditions of our country were becoming somewhat more favorable to shipping. The decreasing interest rates had led several of our firms to establish steamship lines under foreign flags.[62] The use of foreign registry was probably due to the difference in costs thus obtained.

Perhaps, therefore, a general subsidy which would in some degree equalize costs would aid our merchant marine. The dangers of such a policy have been already experienced with

[62] *Senate Reports 2755,* 58th Cong., 3rd Sess.

our postal subsidy policy. There would always be demands for a higher subsidy just as there were such demands from the Collins Line and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. There would always be the danger of bribery, such as we found in the Pacific Mail Steamship Company Investigation. With the results of the general subsidy policy we have, in this country, had no actual experience.

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THE EXCHEQUER IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN

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TO

C. H. H.

TEACHER AND FRIEND

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The Exchequer in Elizabeth's Reign

Introduction

Early in the reign of Queen Mary the Exchequer regained the preëminent position in the English revenue system which it had lost during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. These kings had erected new revenue courts and treasuries at the side of the Exchequer, which for more than half a century played a more important part in the revenue system than the Exchequer itself. The new courts had, however, either declined to comparative unimportance as in the case of the Court of Wards and Liveries and the Duchy of Lancaster, or had been merged with the Exchequer in the case of the Court of Augmentations and the Court of First Fruits and Tenths. The Treasurer of the Chamber who played so leading a role in Henry VII's time and in the early part of the reign of his son as treasurer of the Court of General Surveyors and other revenues, had lost in significance with the merging of the Court of General Surveyors with the Augmentations court in 1547. As an independent treasurer he still received certain revenues from the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, the Hanaper of Chancery and even the Exchequer during most of Elizabeth's reign, but in 1593 and 1594 he ceased to receive the revenues of Cornwall, and the Hanaper, and became a mere disbursing official, supplied with funds chiefly by the Exchequer. While his expenditures between 1490 and 1520 record the history of the period, his payments now covered such interesting but unimportant items as the queen's alms; the washing of the ornaments in the closet; the royal largesses; the royal musicians—trumpets, violins, flutes and sackbuts;—the wages of repairers and tuners of her Majesty's instruments; the wages of the footmen, the four boys of the stable, the surveyors of gates and bridges, the falconers, the officers and keepers of the buckhounds; costs of hounds' meat, harness, tools, leashes, crossbows; the ex-

penses of the wardrobe of the robes, the keeping of Waltham forest, the keeping of bears and mastiffs, the keeping of St. James garden; the salaries of the officers of the jewel house, and the apothecaries for drugs and perfumes; the charges of the watermen and dressing of the Queen barge, the moletaker, rattaker and crowkeeper; the apparelling of houses in time of progress; the payments to players, including Shakespeare's company; the charges of the christening of children to whom the queen was Godmother, and gardening charges; as well as the more important wages of the yeomen of the guard, advances to ambassadors and costs of the royal posts.[1] The Treasurer of the Court of Wards still held the money collected in his court, but the major portion of his receipts was paid out for the Household and Wardrobe on warrants dormant, while the Receiver General of the Duchy of Lancaster turned over his receipts on warrants to the Household and Chamber. The Treasurers of the Court of Augmentations and the Court of First Fruits and Tenths disappeared with the merger of these courts with the Exchequer, and their great revenues passed into the keeping of the Exchequer and its officials. It is the Court of Exchequer, its revenues and organizations that are treated in this paper. It must be kept in mind that the Court of Wards and Liveries and the Duchy of Lancaster were still independent revenue courts separate from the Exchequer; so that this study of the Exchequer is not a complete study of the finances of the period. This paper is further limited to a consideration of various classes of the revenue in their connection with the Exchequer, their yield and their relative importance; it does not consider in detail the nature of these revenues, since this has already been done in part elsewhere, and would involve a vastly more pretentious essay than this aims to be.

Valuable work has already been done on the subject of Elizabethan financial history in a chapter in W. R. Scott's history of

[1] The accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber are preserved in Declared Accounts P. O. 542. See also Lansd. Mss., 5, No. 39, f. 128.

PRO E 351/541-568 (from 1557)
printed by Malone Society

English Joint Stock Companies to 1720. Various tables of receipts and expenditures of Exchequer and other revenues are published in this book, some of which are from the same sources as those used below. Only a small number of the documents used in this study, however, were available to Professor Scott, and the data here presented may be of value in supplementing his work, where the two studies overlap.

SECTION I. THE REVENUES OF THE EXCHEQUER

In analyzing the revenues of the Exchequer various classifications were made by Elizabethan officials. "Certainties" and "casualties" divided those revenues with fixed and constant yields from those which varied from year to year.[2] Sometimes a distinction was made, as in the early Tudor period, between ordinary revenue or the "Revenue of the Crown" derived from sources under the king's own control, intended originally to meet "ordinary" expenses of the state, and extraordinary revenue, of parliamentary or other origin, required for the payment of debts, the unusual expenses of the civil government, aid to foreign states and wars. A third grouping based largely on the various Exchequer departments where the final accounting was rendered, distinguished the revenues in the office of the Pipe, the revenues late of the Court of Augmentations recently annexed to the Exchequer, and those of the office of the Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths. In most Exchequer accounts all these classifications show their influence. First among the Revenues of the Crown were the revenues in the office of the Pipe, or ancient Exchequer revenues. In the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII these had provided the whole business of the court, and in earlier periods had formed the main body of the royal income. There were in this group the fee farms of cities, the revenues of bailiffs of liberties and escheators, the farm of the ulnage of cloth, the revenues administered by the sheriffs—farms for terms of years, farms called viscounties, farms called assarts, fines, issues, and

[2] An example of the use of this classification is found in Cott. Mss., Titus, B IV, f. 159.

amercements in the royal courts of assize,[3] and fines for respect of homage,—the rent of the castle ward of Dover, one-half of the value of goods forfeit upon penal statutes, felons' goods, seized and sold, some fines of leases for lands, and above all the customs and customs subsidies of tonnage and poundage and of wool, wool-fells and leather. The receipts of these and all other revenues at the Exchequer were not necessarily the total amounts collected, since they often represented the total collections less the expenses of collection, the salaries of officials or other deductions. This makes absolute totals of collections and expenditures difficult, and should be kept in mind in studying Exchequer accounts. With the exception of the customs and customs subsidies the ancient Exchequer revenues were of secondary value,—the escheators' payments, to give the extreme case, were only nine shillings and eight pence a year in the last five or six years of the reign.

The customs revenues on the other hand were of prime importance. They included the customs—the magna custuma and the parva custuma of 1276 and 1302; the customs subsidies of tonnage and poundage, and of wool, wool-fells and leather granted to Elizabeth for life, and the new duties or imposts laid by Mary in 1558 on cloth and beer exported and French wines imported. The legal valuations upon which the older duties were levied had been increased in a new book of rates, issued by Queen Mary, so that Elizabeth began her reign with customs revenues, greatly increased over those of Mary's time, as a most important portion of her income.[4] In the fifth and sixth years of the reign there was a sharp fall in the customs revenues, which caused Elizabeth's advisers much concern. It was due in all probability to the un-

[3] The Sheriffs originally paid the diets of the Justices of Assize directly from these collections of fines, issues and amercements. After 1574 the diets were paid by warrants from the Exchequer and the Sheriffs discharged of this payment. Exch. Q. R. 336/29.

[4] The importance of the changes made by Mary is seen in an analysis of the customs receipts of the second year of Elizabeth: customs £25,797; tonnage and poundage and for the rate of wares newly appointed £20,000; custom of the Staple (subsidy of wool, wool-fells and leather) £4,000; new impost upon cloth £26,000; new impost upon wines £4,000; new impost upon beer £3,000. Lansd. Mss., 4, ff. 182 ff.

settled state of England's foreign relations during the period, accentuated by the prohibition of cloth export to Flanders in 1563. At first Cecil, principal secretary of the Queen, tried to persuade himself that on the whole even though cloth workers and small merchants decayed, the restriction would be beneficial for England, because the queen's loss in customs on cloth would be made up by increased export of wool, and to a new wool duty the merchants of France and Spain could raise no objection that it was against treaties as they did against the new cloth duty.[5] To many government officials of the time, however, it seemed that the true reason for the decay was fraudulent practices which were unquestionably rife.[6] Despite a statute and the Queen's commissions requiring strict honesty, these continued, and in 1566 certain informers offered to sit in the custom-houses and increase the Queen's customs to £2,000 more than in the best year of the reign, with a portion for themselves if successful. The Lord Treasurer, Winchester, was opposed, because the projectors were decayed men and not fit to be employed, even alleging that the continued fall in the wine and cloth duties was actually due to the trouble and discouragement similar informers had given the merchants.[7] Nevertheless in 1567 Henry Smith and James Morley received a royal commission to enter the custom houses in person or by deputies to use all reasonable means that her Majesty might be

[5] S. P. Eliz. XXXV, No. 33.

[6] As early as 1561 Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, had complained to Cecil that the merchants of Bristol were evading the new imposts on wine and cloth by making cocketts and charter parties to places in possession of the Lords of Pembroke and Worcester where the Queen had no power to collect dues, S. P. Eliz. XIX, No. 9, and in 1572 Mr. Bird, one of the collectors of customs, was detected in the practice of knocking down a few cloths on each invoice—if 96 cloths came in he wrote down 90, S. P. Eliz., LXXXVIII, No. 33. Other charges are numerous in Lansd. Mss., vol. 25, and an evil situation is implied in letters to Burghley, especially from Peter Osborne, an Exchequer official, Lansd. 14, ff. 112, 114.

[7] S. P. Eliz. XL No. 51, 52. "They trouble merchants daily. I am daily molested with the troubles they make to merchants daily. Whereby they discourage to occupy and will do daily. Thinking good the invencion of Improvement were laid apart for a time till the Queen's merchants shall be better encouraged to occupy."

justly and truly answered of her customs revenues.[8] The practice met with opposition from the merchants and officials and was abandoned in favor of farming certain customs. In 1568 Oliver Danbeney, who had attempted to obtain a grant appointing him surveyor of the beer customs received in its stead a patent for the farm of the beer customs for six years from Michaelmas 1568,[9] and at about the same time the farm of the dues on French wines was granted. In 1570 the more important lease of all the customs duties of goods imported into London, except wines, and all the customs duties of Sandwich and Chichester except on wines was made to Thomas Smith for six years for a fine of £5,000 "paid in hand" and an annual rental of £17,659-6-5. Smith paid the fees of the offices leased by him; he was empowered to sue in the Queen's name. The average of the duties in his farm for eleven years past was £13,659-6-5 besides the discharge of the fees of the offices. He paid an increment of £4,000 on this sum. One of his first acts was to increase the fees of the collectors, who had received £373-9-2, by £1384-13-4 to insure their honesty. Officials "in creeks" never before paid or even sworn—some of whom even paid for their offices probably because of the possibilities of "conveying prohibited wares without license,"—were also paid.[10] Other farms were granted in later years, the most interesting of which were those of the duties on sweet wines granted to the Earl of Leicester, the farm of the duties on French wines, and the customs collected in Exeter and Dartmouth. In 1590 Smith's

[8] If they increased the customs above the average for any six years, they were to have one-third of the surplus cloth duties, if the increase were between £2,000 and £3,000, and one-half over £3,000; and one-third of the wine duties increased between £1,000 and £2,000 over the average, and one-half above £2,000. S. P. Eliz. XLIII, No. 55 I; XLIV, No. 2. See also Ibid., XLIII, No. 55; XLIV, No. 1. Their commission was suspended at the end of the year, S. P. Eliz. XLVII, No. 82. They made a profit for themselves in the wine customs of £1535-6-1, S. P. Eliz. XLVII, No. 86. In 1568 a similar commission was issued for the port of London only, to other men. S. P. Eliz. XLVII, No. 59 I.

[9] Cott. Mss., Faustina C II, f. 150 ff. 30 July, 1568.

[10] S. P. Eliz. LXXI, Nos. 20, 21. Harl. Mss., 167, f. 133, Lansd. Mss., 14, f. 120.

lease lapsed; shortly after, the farm of the Exeter and Dartmouth customs also ceased, and only the wine duties continued at farm.

The greater portion of the customs revenues were never farmed, however, but were collected directly by the government. These show a very great growth during the reign, chiefly owing to the great increase in foreign trade, with perhaps certain gains from increases in ratable values or rates.[11]

Next in importance to the customs revenues in the Exchequer were the rents of the crown lands, representing the lands acquired by Elizabeth's grandfather, father and brother, at the expense of the old nobility and the church. Elizabeth held only a fraction of their vast acquisitions, since Henry VIII, Edward VI and even Mary had been compelled to sell the major portion of the newly acquired lands to meet the exigencies of wars. Nevertheless, when the lands of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, and the lands held in the Court of Wards were added to those in the supervision of the Exchequer, the crown estates still formed the largest single source of revenue of the crown, and remained as they had been in the preceding reigns one of the two great bases of the revenue system. When money and credit were desperately needed in the early years of the reign, Cecil was compelled to follow the traditional policy and alienate capital resources through the sales of land for immediate funds, though reluctantly and with a full realization of the import of the measure. Again in 1589 when conditions were so bad that Burghley himself seemed to despair, some lands were sold, the proceeds being used directly for the army in Flanders. Immediately after Burghley's death when the Irish rebellion was sucking the treasury dry, the new ministers abandoned Burghley's caution, and sold land in quantities unequalled since Edward VI's time to help meet the rather lavish and not too well pruned expenditures in Ireland.

[11] New editions of the Book of Rates were issued in 1583 and 1590; in the beginning of James's reign, however, one Anthony Atkinson alleged to James that the values were still the same as they had been fixed by Mary, and that the rated value to real value was £6-8s 4d to £16-10s 3d, (Reg. 17c IV, April 20, 1603). See Gras, Early English Customs System, p. 125.

The crown lands were still absolutely large in extent even after the latest sales. They were greatly increased at the beginning of the reign by the resumption of Mary's restorations to the church, by the exchange of impropriate benefices in the hands of the crown for bishops' lands authorized in the Parliament of 1559, and later by reversions on the death of grantees, but some of these additions were equalized by new grants. Some purchases were made, the most notable, the Lordship of Denbigh, from the city of London. Much care was expended in increasing their values, as is evident from the large number of surveys during Elizabeth's reign, made to determine their full value with a view to increasing the rentals on leases.[12] That the policy was successful is evident from the greatly increased yields of this revenue throughout the reign.[13] Elizabeth still continued in some measure to enjoy the attainder of Stanley, the execution of Buckingham and the plunder of the abbeys of Gloucester, Reading and Colchester.

Among the other revenues of the crown greatest interest attaches to the *debita et stallata,* or installed debts. These are direct lineal descendants from the payments by obligation and recognizance which gave Empson and Dudley their great notoriety. They represent debts due to the crown for great varieties of causes—the purchase of crown lands, customs dues, merchandise bought of the crown, fines levied in the royal courts, or unexpended revenues in the hands of some government official—which

[12] See Land Revenue Office, Surveys, Misc., Vols. 180-225 passim.

[13] The increased land revenues do not show altogether clearly in the following tables of Exchequer receipts, because as the reign advanced very large sums amounting to as much as £15,000 a year were paid by the receivers of land revenues in Lincolnshire and other northern counties directly to the Treasurer of Berwick, on warrant of the council, without notice in the Exchequer accounts, Declared Accounts, Audit Office 470/2504, 473/2505; Declared Accounts, Pipe Office Nos. 3473-77 inc., 3481, Accounts of the Treasurer of Berwick. From 1597 onward, moreover, the assignments by tallies are not detailed to show the amount received on the land revenues as they were in former years. Since these normally amounted to £9,200 a year before 1597 at least that sum should be added to the figures in the tables from 1597 on to give the land revenues received in the Exchequer in money or by tallies. Somewhat the same thing is true of the customs revenues from 1597 on.

have been respited or extended for a certain period, to enable the debtor to pay in installments. Burghley was especially active in collecting overdue charges in moments of especial need, calling in the money "with severity." In many years of the reign they provided important increases to the current income, at the expense, of course, of the years when they were originally due. This was especially true in the latter portion of the reign.

The clergy of England contributed a large sum each year to the needs of the state. Their regular payments were first, the compositions for first fruits and tenths, or fines paid by every holder of ecclesiastical office on his appointment, to compound for the first fruits granted to the crown by act of Parliament in 1535 together with the revenues of bishoprics during vacations. At the same time Parliament had further granted an annual tenth of the value of all spiritual livings based on an assessment made in 1535 in the Valor Ecclesiasticus; and this annual tenth continued to be paid on this assessed value of 1535 into Queen Anne's reign. In addition the clergy were subject to extraordinary taxation of a certain number of tenths of the nine-tenths which remained after the payment of the annual tenth. This taxation was levied in convocation and confirmed by Parliament in general whenever lay taxes were levied on the nation. The Clerical subsidies are rather to be considered as part of the extraordinary revenues, to which attention must next be given.

Of the extraordinary revenues of the government, the loans at interest, raised in London and in Flanders, and the forced loans which often resembled a tax without parliamentary sanction, though in many cases repayment without interest was made, were not received at the Exchequer, except occasionally in the early and latest years of the reign. Sir Thomas Gresham, who was the royal financial agent abroad, disbursed the sums procured by him on royal warrants; only occasionally did more than small balances

find their way into the Exchequer.[14] The forced loans were levied when money was needed very quickly, often in anticipation of a parliamentary grant, and for greater expedition their proceeds were paid directly to the treasurers of the armies destined to expend them.[15] The chief connection between this class of revenue and the Exchequer was that the Exchequer was drawn upon for repayment, which, unlike the practice in Henry VIII's reign, was always made, at least down to the last decade of the reign. Distasteful as the forced loans were, they had none of the real objections of the device that had cost so much misery in the middle of the century, that is, the debasement of the coinage. Elizabeth never resorted to this, though it was on one occasion seriously "bruited" or rumored in certain parts that the council was planning such action.[16] Neither did she, as has already been indicated, sell her lands in great quantities except at three highly critical periods.

It is a tenable thesis that Henry VII embarked upon his land revenue policy—which stripped the ancient nobility of their estates and culminated in the confiscation of the property of the church—to quiet and satisfy the prejudices of his most powerful backers among the gentry against taxation. With all possible lands appropriated, and commerce laid under as heavy contributions as was deemed advisable, Elizabeth and her gentry advisers faced the same problem of more revenue, which had ruined the Lancastrians. Every resource had been exhausted, and nothing remained but the wealth and substance of subjects, to be taken from them by a Parliamentary authority which had first come into existence as a means to prevent this very thing. The chief reliance for additional revenues was therefore upon direct taxes with parlimentary sanction, the fifteenth and tenth and the subsidy

[14] Declared Accounts, P. O. No. 30; L. T. R., Roll of Foreign Accounts 121, Gresham's accounts 1562-1574.

[15] See accounts of treasurers of various loans, Declared Accounts, Audit Office, 284/1070, 283/1069; S. P. Eliz. XXVIII, No. 32.

[16] Acts Privy Council, n. s. VII, p. 368.

and the clerical subsidies.[17] They could not, however, be asked for from the nation in Parliament, except in case of extraordinary charges in time of war or imminent danger to the state; this principle had been reasserted for centuries, and the early Tudors had accepted it. Elizabeth's advisers endeavored to make the rather subtle change that extraordinary charges should always be sustained by extraordinary reliefs. "Like as the ordinary charge has always been borne by ordinary revenues," said Nicholas Bacon in Parliament in 1571, "so the extraordinary charge hath always been sustained by an extraordinary relief . . . the rules of reason hath ordained it so to be."[18] Burghley went even further and endeavored to raise subsidies for past charges. In the draft preamble to a subsidy act written in December, 1566, corrected in his hand, the Commons were made to offer the subsidy "well considering how your majesty could not hitherto have governed your realms and dominions to the honor of Almighty God and the surety of us your subjects in so long and assured peace within ourselves, having so many dangerous enterprises wrought against this realm without great extraordinary expenses."[19]

Though Parliament was induced to give its sanction to tax bills presented to it by the council with much greater frequency than ever before in English history, the nation at large did not yet recognize its obligation to assume an ever larger portion of the burdens of the state. Burghley contended during his whole public life against a long drawn out sabotage. Commissioners alleged the impossibility of collection because of extremity of dearth and

[17] For a description of the fifteenth and tenth which assumed its final form in 1334, see Dowell, History of Taxation, I, 86-87. The Tudor subsidy was a long development which did not assume its final form until Elizabeth's reign. It was in brief a tax of four shillings in the pound on the rental value of land or two shillings eight pence in the pound on the value of goods, assessed on either lands or goods depending on which had the higher value. The nobles were assessed at a special rate, to which Burghley gave his special attention, without, however, gaining very much for the treasury, since these special payments of the nobility never amounted to more than £3,000 as a total for a single grant.

[18] D'Ewes' Journals (ed. 1682) p. 137.

[19] S. P. Eliz. XLI, Nos. 40, 41.

general and great decay,—the clothiers complained of lack of sale for cloth, the pasture men of low wool prices and finally many rich persons were dead, leaving infants who were not chargeable. Almost before the final form of the subsidy was fixed, government officials were troubled by the difficulty of including new names on the assessment lists and of raising assessments of men who had prospered, to make good the losses of those who had "decayed." The most serious problem lay in getting the local commissioners to put the state above self-interest and neighborliness, and magnificent and terrible indeed are some of Burghley's letters of instruction to them. "So it is requisite that you should take special care that the taxation of persons chargeable may be made indifferently and answerable to the meaning of Parliament, and not so underfoot as heretofore hath been used. Wherein as the good example of the just taxation of yourselves shall be doubtless the best means to induce others to be rated in such reasonable sort as is convenient, so we think it necessary to make you understand . . . that when heretofore persons of very great possessions and wealth have been assessed at very mean sums and persons of the meanest sort have been enhanced . . . you shall now have good regard to order the said taxation more indifferently so as the greatest burden being laid upon the most wealthy, the poorer sort may in proportion be the more eased." And again, "Amend the fault of last year in the assessment of yourselves and other able men wherein our former advice and direction was in sundry parts so little regarded in the last assessment as we were in a manner ashamed to see the rate returned so unreasonably small and unequal. If any in commission for the peace assess themselves under £20, they may look to receive the disgrace to be put out of the commission!"[20] All the subtlety of Burghley; all his preambles to parliamentary statutes; all his earnest letters could not wean the nation from the notion that the king must live of his own, or

[20] S. P. Eliz. CVII, No. 97. Lansd. Mss., 59, f. 146, 156; Harl. Mss., 366, f. 190

induce it to acknowledge the duty of meeting the expenses of its government. Had it been more successful, the bitter experience of civil war in the next century might have been avoided.

Elizabethan exchequer officials were never quite as accurate as a modern adding machine in their addition. There are nearly always discrepancies between the totals as they give them at the close of their accounts, and the actual additions of the individual items making up the accounts. Apart from inability to add correctly these differences are sometimes due to failure to copy items into the finished account which were however included in the rough working draft, and sometimes perhaps to the exclusion from the total of certain items the value of which was learned too late, after the total was made up. The greatest discrepancies are found between the totals, as given by the Exchequer clerks and the totals arrived at by addition, for the last seven years of the reign. These differences are so great that both sets of figures are given in the following table for the years 1597 to 1603 inclusive. The totals found by addition of the separate items are placed in parentheses under the figures taken from the Exchequer accounts. After all, the Elizabethan Exchequer officials were chiefly interested in what was paid, how it was spent, what was still owing to the crown and how much surplus treasure was left over. Incidentally, they never spent money not already on hand, so that their accounts never show the deficits or debts of the government. They were not modern officials working out a budget and they had no interest in comparative statistics of progress. From the figures of their accounts certain general statements of the increase of the total government revenues received at the Exchequer may be made, even though their values cannot be fixed with absolute certainty.

During the first twenty-eight years of the reign the total Exchequer revenues averaged somewhat over £200,000 a year, with a maximum of £328,000 in 1562. Beginning in 1586 there is a sharp rise to over £300,000 a year; after 1594 over £400,000 a year was collected and in 1599 the £600,000 mark approached.

The increases after 1586 were due to augmentations in the yield of the crown lands, the customs, stalled debts, and parliamentary taxes, which were more frequently levied in larger grants both upon the laity and the clergy, from this time onward, than earlier in the reign. After 1599 the sale of crown lands contributed important sums. A great many smaller and miscellaneous revenues and payments also helped swell the total yield. Some of these, like the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall and of the Court of Wards are old revenues hitherto not paid to the Exchequer; others like the lands in sheriff's hands for debts due the crown and the recusants' fines are real additions to the government's resources. In the very last years of the reign when every device was exploited for money, some rather interesting experiments were made like the seizure of money in ships sailing the British Ocean, the levy of money by commissioners for the harness and equipment of soldiers in Ireland and at Ostend, and the reëxaction of a kind of feudal knight service in the assessment of wealthy men for the equipment of a certain number of horsemen for service in Ireland.

The table which follows is based upon the various accounts of the receipts of the Exchequer, especially those drawn up by the auditor of the receipt and by the Clerk of the Pells, a description of which is given later, in section III. These accounts are preserved in almost inextricable confusion with no sequence of years, in various volumes especially among the Lansdowne and Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum, and in the so-called Tellers' Views of Accounts, Declaration Books (Pells), Receipt Books (Pells), and Abbreviates of Pells among the Exchequer of Receipts documents of the Public Record Office.

Receipts of the Exchequer

Year ending at Michaelmas	1559	1560	1561
Revenue of the Crown	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Farms and Fee Farms	2,219-19-10	2,447-17-11	
Bailiffs' Remainders and Issues			
Sheriffs' Issues	1,146-14-2	1,615-1-3	
Sheriffs' Remainders			
Escheators' Remainders and Issues			
Ulnage	579-0-4	639-0-0	
Gaugeator			
Receiver General of Crown Lands	69,460-13-0	69,460-13-0	
Customs			
Collected by the Crown			
The Staple	4,000-0-0		
Farm of Sweet Wines			
Farm of French Wines			
Farm of customs of certain ports			
Total customs revenues	89,063-0-3	81,583-1-3	
Mint, profits of		17,273-1-9	22,081-13-4
Foreign revenues	2,000-0-0	350-2-4	
Debita et stallata			
Profits of the royal courts	3,466-8-7	7,843-12-9	
Forfeitures on penal statutes and felons' goods sold		1,211-2-11	
Hanaper of Chancery	3,510-0-0	3,000-0-0	
Total Revenue of the Crown		185,900-19-9	
Sale of woods and lands		90,156-8-10	
Fines of leases		(?)779-16-8	
Total casual Revenue			
Fifteenths and Tenths	22,103-14-2	28,153-19-9	
Subsidies from the laity	62,631-6-4	101,887-18-11	
Total direct lay taxation	84,735-0-6	130,041-18-8	
Clerical Tenths (annual)	7,202-6-9	15,127-13-11	
First Fruits and Vacations of Bishoprics	5,937-10-5	13,983-15-11	
Clerical Subsidies	7,752-11-0	16,029-11-1	
Total Clerical Revenue	20,892-8-2	45,141-0-11	
Foreign loans received at the Exchequer		54,257-1-0[2]	24,400-0-0[2]
Domestic loans received at the Exchequer		30,000-0-0[3]	
Special and Miscellaneous Revenue	100-0-0[1]	100-0-0[1]	
		1,571-13-2[4]	
Grand total of all Revenue received or accounted at the Exchequer	260,015-14-7	556,998-3-7	264,282-9-3[5]

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1562	1563	1564	1565	1566	1567
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
3,252-13-0					
511-17-7					
1,925-1-8					
9,503-10-3					
125-12-8					
273-17-0					
83,934-18-1					42,121-17-8
58,813-10-3					48,307-0-0
13,727-12-0	283-6-8				
13,326-3-5[6]					1,848-16-8
7,931-2-6					
876-17-0					
1,477-1-10					
195,679-15-0	130,347-6-5	79,269-0-11	123,874-15-9	103,108-6-2	104,566-8-0
49,615-11-8	57,689-7-5	41,781-5-2	565-15-3	734-9-11	77-18-5
3,912-0-10	8,714-19-8	5,119-14-9	5,221-1-11	6,906-18-6	6,454-4-6
53,527-12-6	66,404-7-1	46,899-19-11	5,786-17-2	7,641-8-5	6,532-2-11
4,776-18-1		24,385-9-8		8,251-2-5	1,791-0-8
4,705-12-8		60,373-3-1		2,466-5-3	34,375-2-10
9,482-10-9	60,967-10-3[7]	84,758-12-9	45,303-15-5[7]	10,717-7-8	36,166-3-6
16,309-1-6	12,564-9-4	12,663-0-1	12,209-12-4	12,846-13-4	12,687-7-4
23,391-6-5	6,846-18-5	6,375-19-9	2,562-9-4	6,470-14-3	5,385-14-11
9,039-1-11		11,492-3-1		14,078-16-4	3,042-17-4
48,739-9-10		30,531-3-8		33,396-3-11	21,115-19-7
24,565-18-11			4,000-0-0	11,000-0-0	14,000-0-0
	38,159-8-8				
	438-15-3[8]		315-10-8		
328,821-17-9	304,854-0-2	241,805-10-0	182,537-2-9	165,764-9-10	188,477-7-10

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year ending at Michaelmas	1568	1569	1570
Revenue of the Crown	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Farms and Fee Farms	3,154-5-9	3,899-7-8	2,813-1-5
Bailiff's Remainders and Issues	241-14-8	204-19-10	396-7-10
Sheriff's Issues	1,599-2-6	1,167-6-8	1,104-13-4
Sheriff's Remainders	4,037-8-0	4,857-12-2	4,940-16-6
Escheators' Remainders and Issues	21-5-0	6-6-10	14-8-2
Ulnage	505-13-0	538-5-0	437-19-2
Gangeator		6-13-2	6-3-10
Receiver General of Crown Lands	39,719-19-6	33,240-19-1	34,103-9-0
Customs			
Collected by the Crown		36,209-8-4	40,843-9-2
The Staple		929-5-4	4,300-0-0
Farm of Sweet Wines			
Farm of French Wines		1,775-12-2	3,006-4-4
Farm of customs of certain ports			
Total customs revenues	64,325-10-6	38,914-5-10	48,149-13-6
Mint, profits of			
Foreign revenues	10,231-11-4	1,083-15-6	7,197-13-7
Debita et stallata	2,942-0-11	3,032-16-11	6,297-19-10
Profits of the royal courts	1,020-7-10	763-1-11	603-17-3
Forfeitures on penal statutes and felons' goods sold	390-6-3	216-17-1	211-4-3
Hanaper of Chancery	210-0-0		
Sale of woods and lands	113-4-10		15-0-0
Fines of leases	8,894-11-10	6,815-2-11	3,267-16-1
Total casual Revenue	9,007-16-8	6,815-2-11	3,281-16-1
Fifteenths and Tenths	11,586-7-8	13,506-9-6	3,522-19-4
Subsidies from the laity	33,457-5-7	11,576-15-11	2,035-10-1
Total direct lay taxation	45,043-15-3	25,083-5-5	5,558-9-5
Clerical Tenths (annual)	12,418-0-7	11,993-4-3	11,924-18-4
First Fruits and Vacations of Bishoprics	4,739-0-0	3,573-2-9	3,057-5-8
Clerical Subsidies	6,815-13-3	7,677-9-6	6,006-3-4
Total Clerical Revenue	23,972-13-10	23,243-16-6	20,988-7-4
Foreign loans received at the Exchequer			44,000-0-0
Domestic loans received at the Exchequer			
Special and Miscellaneous Revenue			
Grand total of all Revenue received or accounted at the Exchequer	206,544-13-3	143,174-17-10	180,207-12-9

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1571	1572	1573	1575	1576	1577
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
3,562-3-1	4,670-0-11			6,276-5-6	7,042-0-6
101-6-0	299-17-9				196-6-7
1,111-0-0	2,072-1-8	13,970-4-3	11,234-4-5	7,229-4-6	2,782-11-6
6,000-6-2	5,877-7-0				4,347-10-4
6-16-6	2-11-2				2-6-10
458-9-6	571-9-4	576-11-4	494-5-8	613-3-0	562-3-0
0-12-6	0-12-10	0-10-1	2-19-0		0-12-6
42,235-9-11	51,903-6-10	59,514-9-4	53,810-3-1	56,005-0-3	50,208-3-5
38,382-12-5	37,067-3-0	38,514-15-2	33,716-13-1	45,390-18-2	37,889-1-4
2,380-8-4	2,507-19-1	736-19-0	1,967-8-10	579-9-2	1,506-19-1
			2,000-0-0	2,000-0-0	3,021-17-0
575-12-2	10,451-12-2	4,525-12-2	600-0-0	3,047-7-4	3,491-13-7
9,539-12-5	15,345-9-10	15,869-14-7	17,231-12-5	15,291-2-9	17,212-19-8
40,878-5-4	65,372-4-1	59,647-0-11	55,515-14-3	66,308-17-5	53,122-10-8
		500-0-0			2,000-0-0
28,848-10-3[9]	2,790-14-2	1,643-16-7	2,177-17-5	621-5-1	2,579-13-10
4,420-16-7	6,800-17-5	10,622-0-7	9,965-6-8	6,861-18-7	11,784-3-4
760-11-5	937-0-8	1,106-8-1	1,134-6-9	1,112-9-5	1,043-1-5
584-8-1	557-16-2	590-0-8	454-11-7	714-3-3	522-3-0
	232-13-4	32-13-4	232-13-4	32-13-4	32-13-4
729-18-4	6,525-5-3	2,022-17-9	3,887-14-3	1,721-4-1	588-17-4
5,919-2-1	4,716-13-0	6,320-5-8	4,713-4-7	4,925-11-4	4,725-18-5
6,649-0-5	10,141-18-3	8,343-3-5	8,600-18-10	6,646-15-5	5,314-15-9
1,336-14-11	28,961-13-3	28,252-3-11	572-9-7	21,496-15-8	27,535-7-6
3,134-5-4	71,940-17-9	46,144-15-3	1,499-15-8	1,033-11-10	69,814-9-11
4,471-0-3	100,902-11-0	74,397-6-6	2,072-5-3	22,530-7-6	97,349-17-5
10,459-16-3	12,761-18-3	14,843-15-7	13,548-16-4	12,370-18-6	8,061-12-6
4,825-1-11	6,600-1-4	6,650-15-10	7,652-4-1	6,936-8-3	7,314-12-5
307-12-8	10,521-15-0	9,181-10-2	306-14-5	96-13-4	5,832-12-12
11,592-10-10	29,883-14-7	30,676-1-7	21,507-14-10	19,104-0-1	21,208-17-11
			28,876-15-6	5,000-0-0	
				2,500-0-0[10]	516-0-3[11]
135,680-6-10	284,806-9-7	261,570-8-9	196,079-15-6	199,758-6-6	293,300-3-11[12]

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year ending at Michaelmas	1578	1579	1580
Revenue of the Crown	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Farms and Fee Farms		7,191-6-8	6,463-8-10
Bailiff's Remainders and Issues		183-11-8	
Sheriff's Issues	13,957-10-6	1,594-15-0	8,189-1-7
Sheriff's Remainders		6,768-15-3	
Escheators' Remainders and Issues		3-14-10	
Ulnage		666-11-0	
Lands seized by Sheriffs for debts			
Receiver General of Crown Lands	57,202-3-7	59,468-17-3	65,543-7-9
Customs			
Collected by the Crown	44,155-2-6	43,808-11-5	45,160-7-10
The Staple	684-0-2	998-9-3	
Farm of Sweet Wines	2,364-8-4	2,728-16-8	2,364-8-4
Farm of French Wines	2,958-6-8	7,159-14-8	4,473-6-8
Farm of customs of certain ports	20,983-2-10	15,618-2-10	17,823-2-10
Total customs revenues	71,145-0-6	70,313-14-10	69,821-5-8
Mint, profits of			
Foreign revenues	1,385-8-5	918-11-0	165-1-4
Debita et stallata	10,947-5-10	12,719-18-2	5,375-8-7
Profits of the royal courts	1,102-19-3	501-18-11	773-4-5
Forfeitures on penal statutes and felons' goods sold	687-3-4	59-14-10	83-10-0
Hanaper of Chancery	32-13-4	34-18-11	234-18-11
Tonnage granted toward repair of Dover haven			
De recusant. accedere ad Ecclesiam ubi communis oratio utitur			
Issues of the office of the Clerk of the Faculties			
Sale of woods and lands	1,822-12-1	228-15-6	248-10-5
Fines of leases	4,390-13-7	4,733-8-10	3,193-2-9
Total casual Revenue	6,213-5-8	4,962-4-4	3,441-13-2
Fifteenths and Tenths	8,865-0-6	1,191-12-3	177-0-0
Subsidies from the laity	39,545-10-11	1,404-13-4	460-4-3
Total direct lay taxation	48,410-11-5	2,596-5-7	637-4-3
Clerical Tenths (annual)	11,599-2-4	13,198-11-11	11,460-9-8
First Fruits and Vacations of Bishoprics	10,747-12-6	1,182-17-6	7,697-8-8
Clerical Subsidies	9,970-10-9	10,238-3-1	
Total Clerical Revenue	32,317-5-7	24,619-12-6	19,157-18-4
Foreign loans received at the Exchequer			
Domestic loans received at the Exchequer			
Special and Miscellaneous Revenue	72-3-2		
Grand total of all Revenue received or accounted at the Exchequer	244,162-15-8	192,604-10-9	179,167-9-6

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1581	1582	1583	1584	1585	1586
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
6,378-19-3	8,247-18-7	8,538-10-8	6,422-13-2	3-148-2-6	5,289-7-4
215-0-1	271-14-7	609-17-11	242-18-4		283-0-2
1,542-8-8	2,380-6-8	1,292-3-4	1,599-6-0		1,895-18-0
5,296-18-10	3,441-6-0	3,723-5-4	5,478-11-9	7,155-12-10	3,154-11-7
2-5-10	2-5-10	4-4-6	7-18-2		2-15-6
905-9-6	549-11-0	572-15-0	781-7-0	702-15-0	454-7-0
57,870-3-10	60,287-6-9	60,628-4-6	59,530-3-7	59,596-16-5	57,255-3-11
41,385-10-3	46,238-7-0	44,256-2-6	49,166-18-11	47,761-17-1	47,675-14-4
348-14-0	830-18-0	192-13-3	388-3-7		
2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8
4,473-6-8	4,000-0-0	4,973-6-8	9,732-16-4	6,000-0-0	4,881-6-8
18,873-2-10	21,515-16-2	17,484-3-10	21,707-10-2	25,000-0-0	32,432-2-1
67,809-10-5	75,313-17-10	74,626-3-11	86,724-5-8	81,490-13-9	87,717-19-9
1,000-0-0					
		500-0-0	1,500-0-0	1,346-13-4	
1,226-10-6	1,257-19-4	339-15-6	825-19-10	1,104-18-6	429-9-2
8,375-14-10	8,998-4-11	5,873-17-1	17,491-16-0	5,444-8-4	14,356-12-0
448-3-11	382-11-5	467-2-6	762-6-7	898-5-1	652-16-1
52-11-11	28-0-6	60-0-0		530-10-9	146-15-11
34-18-11	37-4-7	37-4-7	37-4-7	237-4-7	37-4-7
	1,162-13-7	1,243-5-0	1,466-7-0	1,423-15-3	832-18-5
		908-15-6	1,505-10-1	2,334-1-1	1,793-15-11
					559-10-6
22-6-7	28-14-8	155-12-8	16-0-0	73-6-8	361-0-0
3,560-14-4	4,416-15-2	4,162-18-0	4,445-0-2	3,932-16-3	3,854-15-7
3,583-0-11	4,445-9-10	4,318-10-8	4,461-0-2	4,006-3-11	4,215-15-7
12,485-8-11	30,908-12-2	14,163-2-3	658-5-1	9,709-7-6	29,089-1-8
1,815-3-2	66,141-17-8	37,068-19-6	3,693-15-1	872-15-11	61,687-15-3
14,300-11-13	97,050-9-10	51,232-1-9	4,352-0-2	10,582-3-5	80,776-16-11
12,289-0-10	3,426-7-11	11,768-0-4	11,857-17-7	10,353-12-8	11,658-7-2
3,489-15-3	3,605-15-2	4,194-12-7	5,184-9-7	4,265-19-6	7,459-2-0
40-0-0	9,235-8-11	9,657-18-6	9,879-1-9	932-17-0	8,878-0-2
15,818-16-1	16,367-12-0	25,620-11-4	26,921-8-11	15,552-9-2	27,995-9-4
					666-13-4[u]
					5,500-0-0[u]
184,870-3-3	287,484-4-3	238,433-9-3	219,149-16-4	203,684-4-7	305,947-16-4

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year ending at Michaelmas	1587	1588	1589
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Revenue of the Crown			
Farms and Fee Farms	5,078-19-5	7,727-1-10	7,850-14-2
Bailiff's Remainders and Issues		363-14-5	320-18-3
Sheriff's Issues	6,870-18-10	1,687-10-0	1,554-2-7
Sheriff's Remainders		4,259-14-3	6,426-1-6
Escheators' Remainders and Issues		2-5-6	2-15-6
Ulnage	399-0-2	480-7-1	800-16-6
Lands seized by Sheriffs for debts			522-2-2
Receiver General of Crown Lands	61,846-12-4	58,286-11-1	66,718-9-10
Customs			
Collected by the Crown	41,493-8-2	40,354-10-11	64,463-13-4
The Staple		513-9-1	570-14-6
Farm of Sweet Wines	2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8
Farm of French Wines	5,973-6-8	1,800-0-0	6,262-6-10
Farm of customs of certain ports	33,814-8-7	28,374-19-9	19,461-15-11
Total customs revenues	84,009-19-1	73,771-16-5	93,487-7-3
Mint, profits of	1,333-6-8		
Foreign revenues	255-17-6	410-14-3	680-8-7
Debita et stallata	4,894-14-2	23,014-3-9	36,185-13-9
Profits of the royal courts	946-16-3	644-10-1	1,225-16-4
Forfeitures on penal statutes and felons' goods sold	469-19-3	65-0-0	127-19-4
Hanaper of Chancery	237-4-7	37-4-7	37-4-7
Tonnage granted toward repair of Dover haven	703-18-11	459-19-9	112-3-6
De recusant. accedere ad Ecclesiam ubi communis oratio utitur	3,358-1-4	6,018-4-9	8,320-10-0
Issues of the Office of the Clerk of Faculties			
The Farm of fines for alienations without license			2,094-16-2
Licenses to export wheat and ordnance			
Sale of woods and lands	1,490-4-8	1,751-6-3	40-13-4
Fines of leases	4,975-14-0	4,327-10-8	2,151-11-10
Total casual revenue	6,465-18-8	6,078-16-11	2,192-5-2
Fifteenths and Tenths	17,718-10-2	23,955-9-9	31,923-13-2
Subsidies of the laity	38,584-17-5	56,160-1-11	26,237-16-0
Total direct lay taxation	56,303-7-7	80,115-11-8	58,161-9-2
Clerical Tenths	11,054-8-8	12,333-4-11	12,284-14-11
First Fruits and Vacations of Bishoprics	5,915-11-7	3,680-18-7	4,465-8-5
Clerical Subsidies	8,988-8-4	8,450-2-10	10,348-3-4
Clerical Benevolence		5,305-2-2	4,788-3-8
Total Clerical Revenue	25,958-8-8	29,769-8-6	31,886-10-4
Special and Miscellaneous Revenue	1,600-0-0[14]	3,000-0-0[13]	520-0-0[14]
	6,232-19-2[15]	2,000-0-0[14]	
	400-0-0[16]		
	5,000-0-0[17]		
Grand total received or accounted at the Exchequer	271,551-13-3	299,107-6-2	344,931-19-8

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
7,188-6-5	7,241-19-9	9,515-17-10	6,554-14-3	8,879-13-5	8,173-18-2
400-2-10	281-0-11	1,586-8-9		218-5-3	341-2-0
1,613-4-0	1,294-13-4	1,478-0-0	9,930-7-2	1,722-9-4	1,571-18-8
8,228-15-4	7,663-10-4	6,670-8-8		7,280-2-7	4,655-18-0
2-15-6	7-12-2	2-15-5		38-7-7	0-9-8
742-16-6	936-7-0	684-5-8	661-7-0	492-9-0	728-0-4
2,085-15-2	4,159-2-8	1,531-14-10	1,836-4-7	2,613-8-9	2,768-11-6
66,380-9-1	67,578-18-3	72,536-0-4	67,188-19-0	69,452-12-9	68,081-6-3
79,210-3-4	73,369-1-11	86,417-9-6	92,833-18-8	89,122-19-5	105,190-5-6
501-6-10	339-19-2	838-3-0	444-4-10		228-11-6
2,728-16-8	2,728-16-4	2,728-16-4	2,728-16-4	2,728-16-4	2,728-16-4
10,218-3-6	7,510-12-11	5,850-12-9	5,955-16-8	8,762-10-7	12,445-11-0
5,499-15-3	5,400-0-0	11,800-0-0	400-0-0	1,000-0-0	
108,158-5-7	89,348-10-4	107,635-1-7	102,362-16-6	101,614-6-4	120,593-4-4
	500-0-0		623-18-4	1,000-0-0	1,000-0-0
440-6-10	628-10-8	498-19-8	486-17-0	257-17-8	3,291-13-9
31,952-6-9	18,037-7-2	20,036-4-0	11,633-14-1	26,269-15-2	27,423-1-5
558-7-4	509-5-2	766-12-10	853-3-10	962-9-6	637-16-10
105-0-0	25-0-0	580-0-0	579-8-0	420-0-0	
37-4-7	37-4-7	37-4-7	37-4-7		39-19-6
760-19-10	1,051-19-11	889-14-5	984-0-7	1,037-13-7	967-5-8
8,546-5-4	6,353-7-6	5,908-12-3	6,240-6-10	6,160-4-7	6,551-5-11
305-4-10					
1,671-8-5	2,539-10-1	2,591-19-1	1,577-14-0	2,256-14-7	3,500-9-6
		3,528-0-0	7,320-4-10	2,228-16-4	2,100-0-4
656-11-4	435-7-6	70-1-4	432-5-2	665-0-6	863-10-0
2,749-17-2	3,448-18-0	2,786-14-7	3,464-17-1	3,805-11-10	3,632-3-1
3,406-8-6	3,884-5-6	2,856-15-11	3,897-2-3	4,470-12-4	4,495-13-1
27,451-16-1	30,672-11-10	29,587-19-10	27,099-2-3	56,983-3-1	55,144-12-1
67,864-13-1	41,366-1-2	62,400-5-1	36,527-12-2	89,520-4-8	85,612-9-7
95,316-9-2	72,038-13-0	91,998-4-11	63,626-14-5	146,513-7-9	140,757-1-8
10,939-18-0	12,168-19-0	12,616-13-2	11,677-7-1	13,253-0-9	12,035-11-6
6,115-15-1	5,498-15-11	11,403-17-6	11,710-3-3	11,238-1-0	11,079-12-3
9,137-6-8	9,609-8-7	10,147-16-7	9,937-10-3	12,077-3-0	18,452-16-0
4,173-13-7	380-15-8	407-3-8			
30,366-13-4	27,657-19-2	34,575-11-1	33,325-0-7	36,568-4-9	41,567-19-9
948-17-11[18]			865-10-0[20]		
3,000-0-0[19]			10-0-0[21]		
			13,505-6-4[22]		
			150-0-0		
360,721-9-11	316,097-17-9	368,314-8-8	334,450-16-3	420,717-18-0	458,839-10-7

RECEIPTS OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year ending at Michaelmas	1596	1597	1598
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Revenue of the Crown			
Farms and Fee Farms	10,253-14-8	7,198-13-11	8,996-9-5
Bailiffs' Remainders and Issues	290-13-2		200-1-6
Sheriffs' Issues	1,874-5-4	12,034-4-5	1,119-10-0
Sheriffs' Remainders	6,275-15-6		6,413-6-9
Escheators' Remainders and Issues	3-7-6		0-9-8
Ulnage	643-13-4	566-1-4	472-11-4
Lands seized by sheriffs for debts	1,468-1-9	2,300-6-8	5,680-14-7
Receiver General of Crown Lands	70,988-3-6	71,811-0-9	61,767-16-4
Customs			
Collected by the Crown	87,475-8-4		73,637-0-8
The Staple	100-14-6		233-14-0
Farm of Sweet Wines	2,728-16-8		2,728-16-8
Farm of French Wines	11,603-19-0		10,373-17-10
Farm of customs of certain ports			
Total customs revenues	101,908-18-6	106,566-18-9	86,973-9-2
Mint, profits of			
Foreign revenues	2,324-9-10	1,702-16-5	389-3-10
Debita et stallata	33,333-13-2	28,781-12-0	34,845-6-4
Profits of the royal courts	613-1-0	1,419-17-11	955-17-4
Forfeitures on penal statutes and felons' goods sold	791-19-9	763-1-10	
Hanaper of Chancery	3,337-4-7	4,711-3-10	4,361-6-5
Tonnage granted toward repair of Dover haven	882-10-9	587-17-9	662-9-10
De recusant. accedere ad Ecclesiam ubi communis oratio utitur	6,074-7-6	6,546-5-6	6,295-8-7
Issues of the office of the Clerk of the Faculties			550-0-0
The Farm of fines for alienations without license	3,029-8-8	4,148-2-2	4,405-13-6
Licenses to export wheat and ordnance	1,359-9-0		1,192-18-6
Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall			11,649-4-0
Court of Wards			3,000-0-0
Sale of woods and lands	1,317-13-4	202-0-0	750-9-8
Fines of leases	1,860-12-9	2,847-17-10	3,786-3-11
Sale of Letters patent			
Total casual revenue	3,178-6-1	3,049-17-10	4,536-13-7
Fifteenths and Tenths	30,217-14-3	30,598-5-4	26,513-12-4
Subsidies from the laity	56,008-19-11	33,984-0-1	5,940-10-3
Total direct lay taxation	86,226-14-2	64,582-5-5	32,454-2-7
Clerical Tenths (annual)	11,787-8-10	12,297-7-7	12,524-3-11
First Fruits and Vacations of Bishoprics	8,966-17-9	10,744-7-1	11,712-1-2
Clerical subsidies	17,757-7-6	17,556-1-6	10,859-16-0
Total Clerical Revenue	38,511-14-1	40,597-16-2	35,096-1-1
Loans and Forced Loans		61,870-0-0	45,780-0-0
Special and miscellaneous revenues	4,200-0-0[23]		1,500-0-0[24] 1,080-2-6[25]
Revenues received by tallies, sources not indicated		34,062-4-4	32,941-1-11
Grand total of all revenue received and accounted at the Exchequer	377,575-4-8	432-172-19-0 (453,300-7-0)	447,252-9-9 (393,319-18-9)

1599	1600	1601	1602	1603
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
9,532-8-0	5,258-9-5	8,150-6-2	8,031-19-9	8,405-6-3
317-7-3	361-2-11	334-7-1		143-7-3
1,106-6-8	1,098-6-8	1,112-13-4	8,967-6-4	547-13-4
7,410-5-0	4,327-4-0	7,425-7-8		3,841-16-0
0-9-8	0-9-8	0-9-8		
466-18-0	540-7-0	480-12-2	567-3-0	327-9-2
4,304-13-11	5,994-9-1	5,554-9-6	2,241-14-4	3,374-18-11
62,463-0-7	58,611-17-9	55,529-14-8	56,591-1-6	48,330-12-7
73,183-10-8	71,742-2-8	91,278-1-8	68,289-12-4	49,307-13-1
185-5-6				
2,728-16-8	2,728-16-8	5,927-15-10[29]	6,883-19-8[29]	2,743-13-11[30]
5,026-2-1	12,998-14-5	11,424-15-8	14,896-0-0	14,896-0-0
81,124-14-11	87,469-13-9	108,631-13-2	90,069-12-0	66,947-7-0
547-16-2	531-14-4	22,057-3-3	127-8-0	195-5-10
22,929-16-9	17,502-14-9	9,529-7-3	30,364-4-7	23,756-12-8
531-16-7	562-19-8	597-7-8	1,583-8-11	389-15-0
4,506-16-10	3,600-5-6	4,261-11-4	3,388-13-3	1,650-0-0
571-3-7	680-3-3	756-5-6	726-17-6	515-15-9
6,047-13-1	7,654-19-0	9,126-19-3	8,548-2-8	4,154-11-7
300-0-0	200-0-0	281-0-6	200-0-0	100-0-0
4,864-10-11	3,823-14-1	3,747-0-3	4,001-10-2	2,494-7-1
1,845-11-0	859-18-0		1,052-13-0	
4,000-0-0		1,500-0-0		9,000-0-0
			3,000-0-0	2,000-0-0
87,067-11-3	150,241-3-7	25,399-16-1	104,992-4-1	17,192-14-9
323-12-6	2,736-10-5	1,810-18-9	6,049-9-6	7,271-19-7
		1,295-14-8	3,753-12-7	4,777-6-5
87,391-3-9	152,977-14-0	28,506-9-6	114,795-6-2	29,242-0-9
64,923-3-11	48,756-8-8	36,860-6-2	66,048-6-11	27,132-12-1
78,599-16-1	83,778-15-10	75,472-6-11	103,699-15-0	38,093-5-7
143,523-0-0	132,535-4-6	112,332-13-1	169,748-1-11	65,225-17-8
11,390-10-5	11,905-1-0	10,039-12-1	2,551-13-0	9,116-1-10
8,835-10-6	5,602-15-6	6,410-6-3	17,521-3-4	2,732-15-7
19,966-2-11	16,666-9-3	15,906-8-10	19,058-11-1	5,795-4-2
40,192-3-10	34,174-5-9	32,356-7-2	39,131-7-5	17,644-1-7
64,916-0-0		10,000-0-0	10,300-0-0	
1,500-0-0[24]	1,000-0-0[24]	500-0-0[24]	190-0-0[26]	14,322-18-4[27]
347-11-8[25]	5,000-0-0[26]	3,000-0-0[31]	200-0-0[31]	3,000-0-0[31]
	11,000-0-0[27]	15,600-0-0[28]	3,543-13-4[34]	1,134-6-0[34]
	5,894-0-0[28]	10,500-0-0[32]	189-12-5[32]	4,596-15-0[35]
		14,158-6-10[33]	19,776-13-4[33]	
			2,000-0-0[36]	
			3,563-2-6[37]	
			109-6-8[38]	
			3,100-0-0[39]	
			5,200-0-0[40]	
33,124-0-5	32,530-9-9	32,530-9-9	31,799-19-6	32,093-11-1
621.531-7-5	661,583-19-3	542,674-15-4	638,638-0-0)	638,638-0-0
(583,865-8-7)	(574,190-2-10)	(498,560-14-9)	(623,108-18-3)	(343,434-8-10)

Footnotes of Receipts of the Exchequer

[1] Butlerage.

[2] Through Thomas Gresham.

[3] "Of the Merchants" of London.

[4] From John Mason, Treasurer of the Chamber.

[5] Not including loans or lay taxation.

[6] Unexpended balances of various officials.

[7] This figure includes subsidies, fifteenths and tenths, and possibly also clerical subsidies which are not separately entered in this account.

[8] Profits of the mint.

[9] Unexpended balances of various officials.

[10] From the Duchy of Lancaster.

[11] Prests returned, and payments from the Receiver General of Cornwall.

[12] *Sic*, including £12,201-19-11 assigned by tallies not distributed. Apart from this there is a discrepancy of £10,021-10-1 due to the omission apparently of some items in the clerical revenues in the accounts of the Easter term, but added in, in the total.

[13] Loan repaid.

[14] Prests returned.

[15] From Edward Osborne and other aldermen, in part repayment of 10,000 pounds weight of silver loaned to them out of the Receipt.

[16] From Thomas Smith, late Treasurer of the Society of Royal Copper Mines in part repayment of a loan.

[17] From the Duchy of Lancaster.

[18] From the lands of the Countess of Lennox, deceased.

[19] Fine of lease for the farm of the impost of sweet wines.

[20] Prests returned.

[21] Butlerage.

[22] From John Hawkins, for pepper, cochineal and other commodities captured and sold by him and others.

[23] Repayment of loan by Thomas Fludd.

[24] Money paid by Urial Babington and others, according to an agreement made by him with the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[25] Butlerage.

[26] Money levied on divers persons for the arming of horsemen with their horses and equipment for the service of the Queen in Ireland.

[27] Repayment of a portion of his debt, by the King of France.

[28] Repayment of a portion of their debt by the States of the Netherlands.

[29] "De Collectoribus." The sweet wine customs were not farmed this year.

[30] The sweet wine customs were again farmed in this year.

[31] Fines imposed upon the followers ot Robert Earl of Essex.

[32] Paid to the Queen's use by certain alien merchants.

[33] Money levied for equipment and arms of soldiers sent to Ireland and Ostend.

[34] Money paid according to agreements with the Lord Treasurer.

[35] Butlerage.

[36] From the Society of Moscovie of the Levant.

[37] Compositions for defective titles.

[38] Redemption of lands by indenture.

[39] Impositions of coals.

[40] Money in ships sailing in the British Ocean, arrested by the Queen's ships.

SECTION II. THE EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER

The most generally used classification of the Exchequer's expenditures was into payments by assignment of tallies, and payments in money. Assignment of revenue by tallies was a rather clumsy device for earmarking certain definite revenue for definite purposes. It involved the issuance by the Exchequer of Receipt of the tally stocks of the revenues assigned by statute or order in council to the persons or officials designated to receive them. The person receiving the tally stock took it to the collector of the revenue named on its face and received from him the amount for which the stock was cut. The collector preserved the stock and presented it as his receipt for the payment of his revenues when he came to make his account at the Exchequer. Each year some £30,000 of revenue was assigned in this way, to meet the rewards to customers, rewards in the Exchequer, the annuity to Peter Osborne, the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, the annuity of the Lord Treasurer—Burghley received £365 a year—and part of the Exchequer share of expenditures in the Household and Wardrobe.[21]

There was also a notion of "ordinary" and "extraordinary" charges. The somewhat primitive budgets, drawn up from time to time, give some notion of what were considered ordinary expenditures. They were in general those charges which had to be met each year in maintaining the civil government and in supporting its armed forces on a peace footing, although the many payments of pensions, annuities, wages of officials and collectors, reparations, diets of judges and of the presidents of the council of Wales and of York which have every claim to be considered part

[21] For the year ending Michaelmas, 1581 the assignments by tallies were £29152-3-0; £1561-6-6 on the fee farms, £427-18-8 on the sheriff issues, £163 on the Ulnage, £5005-9-10 on the customs farms, £9200 on the rents of the Crown lands, £12612-15-11 on the customs, £64-2-1 on the profits of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office in the Exchequer, and £34-18-11 on the profits of the Hanaper. For the year ending Michaelmas, 1581, assignment by tallies were issued to the Household £23027-4-2; wardrobe £3715-19-11, rewards to customers and annuities £2408-19-9 of which £365 was Lord Burghley's annuity. Pells Declaration Books II, ff. 190-192, 212-213.

of the charges of the civil government were deducted from the revenues before they were received, and seem to have been considered as costs of collection, rather than as expenditures.[22]

The greater part of the "ordinary charges" were met in the Exchequer. In the budget of the year 1575-1576 they covered a total of £125,873-18-5, leaving of the "ordinary" revenue of the year £73,379-3-2 available for "extraordinary" purposes, or for the accumulation of a surplus against future contingencies. At the close of business in the year ending Michaelmas, 1560, there was in the Tellers' hands a balance of £764-7s. 2d. By 1584 this reserve fund had increased to almost £300,000-0-0, most of which was consumed by the costs of the war with Spain. Between 1593 and 1597 the surplus again increased, but before any very great sum was accumulated, the O'Neil rebellion in Ireland ended the surplus as a factor in English history.

The ordinary charges in 1575-6 were those of the wardrobe £4015-11-0, of which £3715-11-0 was assigned by tallies; rewards of customers £893-10-0 all assigned by tallies; the Exchequer contribution to the Treasurer of the Chamber £3500; rewards to Sheriffs £643-10-0, assigned by tallies; the charges of the government of Ireland above the revenue there £120,000; the Privy purse £2,000; the Admiralty £5714-2-2; the surveyor for victualling the ships £2981-4-0; the Lieutenant of the ordnance for provision and works £6000; the master of the Armory, for keeping clean and repairing armor £400; the surveyor of the works £1200; the Diets of the Scottish Queen £2704-0-0; the Lieutenant of the Tower £592-0-0; the gentlemen pensioners £4043-3-4; the Cofferer of the Household £23,027-13-2, assigned by tallies (besides £17,000 from the Court of Wards and the Duchy of Lancaster); the

[22] In the year 1569-1570 £6455-2-7 were allowed for fees and charges in collecting the ancient Exchequer revenues, and £27,341-19-11 in fees and charges, pensions, costs of repairs, the Diets of the Presidents of York and Wales in case of the revenues of the Augmentations office. Cott. Mss., Titus B IV, ff. 159, ff. Other budgets, somewhat similar, are preserved, Lansd. Mss. 14, ff. 7 ff, Add. Mss. 34,729, ff. 41 ff. For explanation of discrepancies between figures of the budgets and the tables below, see section IV.

Treasurer of Berwick £15,000-0-0; the Legier ambassador in France £1206-13-4; the Jewel House £3974-8-9; Repairs to Combesere castle £1,000; the guard for their rich coats £725-12-0; and fees and annuities of the officials of the government and royal favorites £27,252-1-10. A comparison of these items with all the Exchequer's disbursements gives the clue to the reasons that kept Gresham busy negotiating with Flemish bankers for loans during the first years of the reign, that kept the subsidy collectors almost steadily engaged in assessing subsidies and contributions and Burghley at his wit's end for funds. The great extraordinary charges were those occasioned by the exigencies of foreign relations and wars. Such a comparison will also indicate that the charge of parsimoniousness and niggardliness generally levelled at Elizabeth for the smallness of her efforts in aid of her allies and the inadequacy of her own naval and military operations must be withdrawn. She spent in such ways all and more than she could afford, strained her resources to their limit, and did much to render the financial problem insoluble in James's reign. There are gaps in the accounts of expenditures for the years 1561 to 1563 inclusive and 1580 and 1581, five years in all. From other sources which can be used for these years and from the Exchequer's accounts for the rest of the reign, it appears that the most notable extraordinary expenses were for the army of the north, in aid of the Scottish rebels for 1560-1564; the Newhaven expedition 1562-1564; the loans to the Netherlands in 1577-1578 which were supplemented by loans abroad from Horatio Palavincino and Baptista Spinola to amount of £28,757-11-3, the interest on which is referred to as the pension of Horatio Palavincino; the expeditionary force to the Netherlands in 1585-1586 which took sometimes a third of the revenue through the remainder of the reign; the great outlays for ordnance and the fleet in the face of war, and finally the various Irish rebellions, all of which are faithfully reflected in the vast sums dispatched to the treasurer there. Of much interest are many of the minor payments—investments in mercantile enterprises, like loans to the Muscovy Company, the Society of Royal

Copper Mines, the payment of £200 to Michael Lock, treasurer of the Society of Adventurers in Partes Catharie to build a house and furnace for melting of the ore brought in by Mr. Frobisher with other advances for provisions and men; the annual purchase of £400 worth of spangles all through the reign; the wardrobe expenditures which account for the traditional three thousand dresses, the diets of Queen Mary while Elizabeth's prisoner and the pensions to James of Scotland.

In the following table the major expenditures are shown, in general those over £1,000, with certain other facts which may prove of value to the student of Elizabethan history. The accounts of expenditures of the Exchequer, prepared by the Auditor of the Receipt, form the basis for this table to 1598, when the accounts prepared by the Clerk of the Pells are used. Scattered items for years during which Exchequer accounts are wanting have been taken from various treasurers' accounts preserved among the Declared Accounts of the Public Record Office.

The Expenditures of the Exchequer

Year Ending Michaelmas	1559	1560	1564
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Treasurer of the Fleet		82,011-7-4	19,806-9-9
Surveyor of Victuals of the Fleet		2,986-15-10	
Surveyor of Ordnance of Ships		2,600-0-0	714-16-9
Lieutenant of Ordnance		19,810-11-7	1,000-0-0
Master of the Armory		417-15-8	1,260-8-8
Surveyor of the Works		3,549-7-9	2,290-8-7
Master of the Revels		309-19-9	677-16-9
Cofferer of the Household in addition to assignments by tallies		25,004-2-5	3,842-4-10
Master of the Wardrobe in addition to assignments by tallies		8,733-3-11	5,647-18-9
Purchase of Spangles		602-9-6	201-0-0
The Gentlemen Pensioners		24,269-6-3	4,950-6-8
Berwick, treasurer of	148,396-18-0	48,001-16-2	39,056-14-10
Ireland	5,000-0-0	1,743-3-3	11,313-8-0
Portsmouth and other garrisons		2,670-3-0	540-0-0
Repayment of foreign loans		10,166-13-4	24,850-0-0
Repayment of domestic loans	17,937-5-0	22,213-7-0	29,823-14-0
Ambassadors (see also individual ambassadors)			
Treasurer of the Chamber		6,300-0-0	
The Queen's Goldsmiths		2,458-7-1	2,000-0-0
Lieutenant of the Tower			
Diets of Mary, Queen of Scots			
Repairs to castles, buildings and forts			
The Privy Purse		3,000-0-0	500-0-0
Fees and Annuities	34,750-14-7	32,921-7-0	35,414-12-8
Total Disbursements	230,975-10-5	460,746-0-1	
Balance in Tellers' hands		764-7-2	37,662-0-3
Assignments by tallies			

Other disbursements were: Purchase of salt peter (1559), £15,000; expenses of the coronation (1559), £4,000-0-0; ransom of Lord Grey of Wilton (1559), £3,832-5-10; expenses of the mint (1559), £11,000-0-0; (1560), £36,280-10-7; John Abington,[1] victuals of the Army of the North (1560), £14,329-6-6; Valentine Brown, treasurer of the Army of the North (1560), £128,599-7-8; from Michaelmas, 1560, to Annunciation, 1564, £114,474-4-8; William St. Lowe (1560), £3,709-1-0; Thomas Adredd and Thomas Waters (1560), £2,217-4-5; Robert Hare and Edward Felton (1560), £3,661-0-0; Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick (1560), £1,000-0-0; (1564), £1,550-0-0; Lawrence Bradshaw, nuper surveyor of works (1560), £2,844-16-0; John Bull, comptroller of the mint (1560), £200-0-0; (1564), £1,200-0-0; Arthur Darcy (1560), £1,200-0-0; Lord Cobham (1560), £1,002-13-0; Benedict Spinola (1560), £4,495-16-8; George Deaken (1560), £2,236-17-6; Thomas Chamberlain (1560), £1,140-0-0; Cuthbert Vaughan, captain in the north (1560), £1,061-12-6; the Duke of Norfolk (1560), £2,000-0-0; Thomas Smith, ambassador to France (1560), £1,395-0-0; (1566), £1,568-16-8; (1567), £476-15-2; Nicolas Throgmorton, ambassador to France (1560), £1,790-13-4; (1564), £1,047-15-0; Thomas Chaloner, ambassador to Spain (1564), £1,317-5-1; William Partrich (1564), £6,127-6-9; coat and conduct money for soldiers sent to Newhaven (1564), £3,671-19-5; Maurice Denys, treasurer of Newhaven, September 12, 1562 to Michaelmas 1564, £100,301-3-5; (1566), £850-0-0; Hugh Counsell, for the Newhaven expedition (1564),

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1566	1567	1568	1569	1570	1571
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
5,206-15-1	11,896-8-2	9,928-2-3	16,166-11-11	12,747-17-6	10,931-18-6
7,291-3-5 }	7,491-16-2 }	2,476-10-0	6,682-16-2	8,434-12-9	2,508-1-0
		287-1-8	630-9-9	128-7-4	369-4-1
6,833-7-5	6,160-0-11	12,371-13-7	12,594-16-1	11,213-9-5	18,322-8-9
757-10-0	407-17-9	800-0-0	671-1-2		599-11-6
5,657-19-10	7,480-4-11	6,882-1-5	8,864-13-5	6,612-1-2	5,377-6-1
808-0-5	468-13-11	1,378-0-7	453-5-6		499-17-6
	49-1-2	6,802-3-4	2,776-15-11	3,977-12-5	3,391-19-6
2,768-17-2	4,179-7-7	1,127-16-2	2,996-1-11	369-12-9	1,527-1-6
401-16-2	401-16-2	499-18-6	598-2-4	398-2-4	403-13-1
4,394-12-0	6,186-1-0	5,039-3-3	4,466-3-0	4,426-4-7	4,290-4-2
38,641-0-0	26,894-14-8	4,224-6-9	1,100-0-0	21,416-1-1	14,483-0-0
9,909-14-10	40,348-8-8	24,719-17-4	15,956-13-4	16,187-7-4	23,335-18-0
5,324-13-4	956-8-7	771-4-0	666-8-0	1,597-16-0	885-8-0
9,399-19-11	17,203-10-5	24,270-0-0	6,000-0-0		
				576-10-0	1,790-3-2
600-0-0					
4,658-9-1	3,555-9-7	2,671-14-10	2,604-2-2	1,677-10-8	2,686-3-5
1,573-18-1		3,278-11-3	1,366-14-4	1,711-16-10	1,070-8-1
			2,000-0-0	2,256-13-4	2,500-0-0
				1,722-4-3	1,200-0-0
1,500-0-0	6,500-0-0	10,000-0-0	1,000-0-0		2,500-0-0
34,682-10-8	32,105-7-11	33,768-4-2	32,877-18-0	c.32,000-0-0	c.30,000-0-0
149,993-7-6	182,021-8-7	197,962-2-11	129,738-10-4		
27,465-19-3	37,673-5-5	19,717-15-8	33,153-3-3		

£3,939-5-0; Thomas Lodge, of the company of merchant adventurers to Africa (1564), £1,000-0-0; (1566), £374-9-2; John Manne, ambassador to Spain (1566), £1,003-6-8; Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain (1566), £3,210-0-0; John Manne, ambassador to Spain (1567), £1,267-8-10; (1568), £1,184-10-0; (1569), £399-8-10; Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain (1568), £800-0-0; (1569), £700-0-0; Henry Norris, ambassador to France (1567), £986-7-1; (1568), £1,176-0-0; (1569), £1,614-10-0; (1570), £1,357-2-6; (1571), £834-5-4; Robert Hare and Edward Felton (1568), £389-0-0; (1569), £900-0-0; Lord Hunsdon (1568), £276-13-4; (1569), £300-0-0; coat and conduct money (1570), £1,441-17-0; the treasurers of the rebellion in the north in 1570 (1570), £30,541-0-0; tents and pavillions (1568), £268-15-5; (1570), £1,500-0-0; (1572), £1,000-0-0; Mercatores Muscovie (1568), £4,000-8-10; George Winter (1569), £1,148-0-0; to the Lord Treasurer's hands (1568), £31,079-1-9; to the Tellers of the Receipt (1571), £16,260-7-8.

Further payments were: Francis Walsingham, ambassador to France (1571), £1,620-8-11; (1572), £1,403-5-8; (1573), £954-2-0; Lawrence Bradshaw (1571), £1,592-8-5; (1572), £400-0-0; Thomas Randolf, agent in Scotland (1571), £612-0-0; Margaret, Countess of Lennox, reward (1571), £1,966-13-4; wages of soldiers (1571), £1,026-0-0; Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick (1572), £2,000-0-0; Thomas Sutton, master of ordnance in the north parts (1572), £1,330-11-0; (1573), £986-19-9; (1575), £284-1-0; Edward Fitzgarrett, captain of the gentlemen pensioners (1572), £956-5-0; lands pur-

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year Ending Michaelmas	1572	1573	1574
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Treasurer of the Fleet	8,280-15-4	12,192-6-2	14,651-15-4
Surveyor of Victuals of the Fleet	2,700-1-8	2,992-10-3	7,228-5-3
Surveyor of Ordnance of Ships		747-13-0	
Lieutenant of Ordnance	13,374-2-7	9,513-13-0	12,838-12-6
Master of the Armory	1,064-6-6	400-0-0	
Surveyor of the Works	4,263-0-0	3,767-0-4	4,611-14-6
Master of the Revels	666-13-3		
Cofferer of the Household in addition to assignments by tallies	2,853-3-0	6,661-15-2	398-1-9
Master of the Wardrobe in addition to assignments by tallies	694-7-0	8,587-18-7	900-0-0
Purchase of Spangles	403-13-1	403-13-1	403-13-1
The Gentlemen Pensioners	4,767-15-6	4,080-10-10	3,996-16-7
Berwick, treasurer of	7,510-3-7	8,400-0-0	900-0-0
Ireland	33,631-5-4	24,373-9-8	66,244-13-1
Portsmouth and other garrisons	952-8-10	666-8-0	c.600-0-0
Repayment of foreign loans	23,700-0-0	67,854-10-4	46,654-8-4
Repayment of domestic loans	48,869-6-8	1,250-0-0	
Ambassadors (see also individual ambassadors)	1,335-16-11	458-0-8	2,154-15-8
Treasurer of the Chamber			1,400-0-0
The Queen's Goldsmiths	2,485-5-1	4,798-15-2	4,477-7-7
Lieutenant of the Tower	1,119-18-2	1,256-15-8	966-0-8
Diets of Mary, Queen of Scots	2,800-0-0	2,408-0-0	2,104-0-0
Repairs to castles, buildings and forts	1,169-10-2	2,800-0-0	1,567-12-6
Diets of Justices of Assize			
Master of the Jewels		983-16-6	350-0-0
Master of the Posts			
Secret service, to be spent as the Queen directs			
Aid to the Netherlands and costs of the army there			
Pension of Horatio Palavincino			
The Privy Purse	200-0-0	4,640-0-0	2,933-6-8
Fees and Annuities	c.30,000-0-0	26,004-1-11	c.26,000-0-0
Total Disbursements		211,445-12-6	
Balance in Tellers' hands	140,298-16-8	124,236-16-10	
Assignments by tallies	29,831-9-0	29,643-3-4	

chased (1572), £4,526-13-4; Francis Flower, for service (1573), £3,000-0-0; Earl of Lincoln, ambassador to France (1572), £1,000-0-0; (1573), £483-0-0; Valentine Dale, ambassador to France (1573), £1,169-3-4; Earl of Worcester, ambassador to France (1573), £1,126-6-0; (1575), £2,039-12-6; Benedict Spinola, in repayment of a loan of £11,000-0-0 (1574), £6,000-0-0; (1575), £5,241-13-4; captains of Jersey, Guernsey and other castles (1575), £1,586-8-1; loan to Society of the Royal Copper Mines (1575), £3,333-6-8; Roger, Lord North, ambassador to France (1575), £1,567-1-9; loans by the Queen to subjects (1576), £4,550-0-0; (1577), £2,000-0-0; (1578), £3,000-0-0; Hugh Keele, a goldsmith (1577), £1,790-10-10; (1579), £1,667-9-5; Robert, Earl of Lecester, loan (1577), £15,000-0-0; purchase of gunpowder by Hudson and Dale (1577), £20,000-0-0; (1582), £6,917-7-4; Michael Lock, Queen's adventurer in the northwest passage ex-

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1575	1576	1577	1578	1579	1582
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
6,980-15-4	9,962-0-1	12,149-6-10	13,288-12-4	8,952-2-0	8,256-15-6
1,981-4-0	4,506-5-8	2,919-11-10	4,682-6-11	4,244-10-8	3,091-3-4
9,005-5-8	7,233-3-8	11,380-4-4	7,638-16-2	8,734-19-10	7,721-15-2
233-6-8			500-0-0		916-13-4
4,914-10-0	3,372-15-11	3,865-16-2	4,305-2-8	3,261-19-3	3,328-11-0
1,750-5-8		100-0-0	157-17-5	444-9-1	500-0-0
7,041-7-4	5,678-6-8	5,642-13-3	3,901-4-5	2,505-19-6	9,333-2-10
965-11-11	5,748-8-1	6,819-2-11	1,300-2-9	2,229-13-2	4,235-15-7
403-13-1	405-10-0	405-10-0	405-10-0	405-10-0	401-16-2
4,043-11-8	4,139-0-0	4,032-6-8	3,987-1-8	4,345-4-2	4,289-4-2
1,500-0-0	900-0-0	3,603-6-8	3,800-0-0	1,362-6-8	322-0-0
43,643-6-11	38,425-15-9	38,508-15-2	18,671-4-7	32,752-10-11	89,382-3-0
618-16-0	666-8-0	666-8-0	618-16-0	471-4-0	523-12-0
6,500-0-0	6,000-0-0		738-0-0		
	22,500-0-0	7,500-0-0			
1,589-4-8	4,190-9-9	7,530-4-0	5,010-2-1	5,273-8-8	3,132-2-11
3,300-0-0	3,500-0-0	3,500-0-0	3,500-0-0	3,034-17-6	2,400-0-0
2,616-3-5	2, 459-3-1	2,674-9-6	2,399-3-9	1,535-8-2	2,294-18-11
1,067-11-4		848-6-0	948-1-2	985-9-8	1,488-7-4
2,704-0-0	2,704-0-0	2,756-0-0	2,496-0-0	2,704-0-0	1,800-0-0
1,200-0-0	c. 4,100-0-0	2,065-5-4	1,223-10-0	1,000-0-0	800-0-0
1,524-4-4	c. 1,500-0-0	1,519-17-4	c. 1,500-0-0	c. 1,500-0-0	1,597-17-4
		501-0-8	924-10-8	1,102-3-9	
				1,100-0-0	1,812-0-3
					39,999-19-10
		20,000-0-0	25,029-19-11		
					2,942-11-4
1,000-0-0	2,300-0-0	3,000-0-0		1,400-0-0	2,200-0-0
26,314-13-3	c. 26,000-0-0	c. 26,000-0-0	25,855-13-10	c. 25,000-0-0	23,459-5-11
161,705-10-3			132,713-3-1		256,890-14-10
107,017-11-4			247,810-11-5		218,533-15-6
30,895-3-4	31,325-13-9	29,192-2-10	29,995-3-5	28,874-2-6	30,045-11-0

pedition (1577), £250-0-0; (1578), £1,700-0-0; (1579) £1,932-0-0; funeral of the Countess of Lennox (1578), £1,000-0-0; Robert Vernon, for victuals at Berwick (1579), £2,940-2-2; (1582), £1,146-5-8; Edward Dyer (1579), £3,000-0-0; Francis Walsingham, per manus Jean de Bex, gentleman of the Duke of Alençon (1582), £13,999-19-10; Philip Sydney, reward (1582), £1,500-0-0; Edward Osborne and Richard Martin in ingots of pure silver to be repaid in five years (1582), £31,619-15-9.

Between 1582 and 1591, we find: Repair of Dover Haven (1582), £1,208-18-10; (1583), £1,040-5-6; (1584), £3,250-11-0; (1585), £3,000-0-0; purchase of lands (1583), £4,000-0-0; Peter Cebara, a Spaniard (1583), £2,000-0-0; Ralph Lane, reward paid from fines for absence from church (1584), £1,000-0-0; wages of various garrisons (1584), £1,220-2-0; (1585), £1,386-15-4; the victuallers of the Queen for marine causes (1585),

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year Ending Michaelmas	1583	1584	1585
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Treasurer of the Fleet	6,942-14-1	10,702-12-11	10,792-8-2
Surveyor of Victuals of the Fleet	2,259-1-4	2,239-4-5	3,763-4-7
Surveyor of Ordnance of Ships			
Lieutenant of Ordnance	4,957-13-1	11,629-19-7	7,719-1-9
Master of the Armory	400-0-0	400-0-0	400-0-0
Surveyor of the Works	5,816-18-9	4,808-6-0	5,433-11-0
Master of the Revels		353-4-4	
Cofferer of the Household in addition to assignments by tallies	9,230-6-1	3,637-2-8	3,087-2-2
Master of the Wardrobe in addition to assignments by tallies	3,416-17-5	4,784-4-4	4,965-19-6
Purchase of Spangles	401-16-2	401-16-2	401-16-2
The Gentlemen Pensioners	4,108-11-8	4,548-12-11	4,278-18-4
Berwick, treasurer of	2,195-0-0	945-8-8	
Ireland	84,773-3-10	60,165-0-9	37,745-0-8
Portsmouth and other garrisons	571-4-0	666-8-0	618-16-0
Repayment of foreign loans			
Repayment of domestic loans			
Ambassadors (see also individual ambassadors)	3,522-12-4	2,980-7-10	4,671-9-7
Treasurer of the Chamber	2,400-0-0	2,400-0-0	3,400-0-0
The Queen's Goldsmiths	3,565-13-4	3,559-11-7	2,844-10-2
Lieutenant of the Tower	1,450-9-4	1,679-5-8	1,449-4-10
Diets of Mary, Queen of Scots	1,440-0-0	1,800-0-0	2,703-13-7
Repairs to castles, buildings and forts	483-8-9	6,927-19-0	3,646-0-0
Diets of the Justices of Assize	1,579-17-4	2,311-19-0	1,494-6-0
Master of the Jewels	120-9-6		600-0-0
Master of the Post	1,000-0-0	1,100-0-0	1,100-0-0
Secret service, to be spent as the Queen directs	4,566-13-4	4,220-0-0	13,114-16-11
Aid to the Netherlands and costs of the army there			22,962-19-11
Pension of Horatio Palavincino	3,929-14-0	3,337-8-4	3,337-8-4
The Privy Purse	1,500-0-0	2,600-0-0	2,100-0-0
Fees and Annuities	23,341-15-9	23,014-0-10	23,341-9-11
Total Disbursements	149,352-8-8	170,950-2-3	182,960-14-11
Balance in Tellers' hands	278,975-19-11	298,954-2-2	282,362-8-6
Assignments by tallies	29,194-11-10	29,246-19-5	33,415-5-4

£5,259-11-5; Robert, Earl of Leicester, lieutenant general in the Netherlands (1586), £8,-000-0-0; the clerk of the signet (1586), £1,000-0-0; works at Portsmouth (1586), £3,263-, 15-0; Horatio Palavincino, for the Queen's service at Lyons (1586), £15,468-15-0; (1587), £15,468-15-0; Regi Don Anthonio, toward the payment of his debts (1587), £1,000-0-0; (1593), £200-0-0; the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots (1587), £613-19-0; the purchase of ordnance for Ireland (1587), £478-8-0; the annuity of the Earl of Oxford (1587-1596), £1,000 a year; loan to Thomas West (1587), £1,000-0-0; J. Norris, for the transport of 1,500 men to the Netherlands (1588), £3,150-0-0; Thomas Hennage, treasurer of debts growing from levy of soldiers to resist foreign invasion, and treasurer of the Chamber (1588), £26,600-0-0; R. Manners (1588), £1,187-0-0; various captains (1588), £1,603-5-0; Lord Howard, high admiral (1588), £600-0-0; T. Perrott and Walter

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1586	1587	1588	1589	1590	1591
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
24,439-16-10	23,078-3-8	88,206-10-5	50,909-2-4	47,696-18-6	38,652-19-7
5,181-4-0	16,459-11-0	62,512-13-2	14,448-4-0	10,034-3-4	11,263-10-9
1,160-13-4	1,000-0-0	2,081-7-8			
8,722-0-0	8,346-15-7	9,881-4-1	20,587-18-3	21,488-5-7	15,980-12-8
400-0-0	400-0-0	400-0-0	300-0-0	400-0-0	400-0-0
2,358-6-7	3,423-1-5	1,472-17-8	3,120-0-10		4,393-17-2
602-5-1					
4,102-5-5	6,571-18-4	192-17-10	3,525-14-8		18,671-5-11
3,891-2-10	5,296-13-11	7,143-4-4			2,692-18-11
401-16-2	401-16-2	401-16-2	401-16-2		803-12-4
4,083-5-10	4,181-1-4	c. 4,100-0-0	4,175-11-4	c. 4,100-0-0	4,163-19-2
1,600-0-0	1,000-0-0	10,020-0-0	2,000-0-0		3,000-0-0
34,605-15-4	42,609-3-0	27,753-9-8	17,757-9-2	34,809-6-10	21,221-15-8
618-16-0	618-16-0	618-16-0	571-4-0	c. 600-0-0	675-1-1
			47,942-10-0	71,407-0-0	20,234-6-8
4,811-7-4	3,531-14-5	6,361-11-2	2,876-5-8		3,291-16-8
2,400-0-0	2,400-0-0		2,400-0-0	2,400-0-0	2,800-0-0
3,577-18-1	4,490-4-7	2,786-16-11	c. 2,500-0-0	c. 2,500-0-0	2,274-17-4
1,671-15-0	2,082-0-6	848-17-4	2,105-12-8		1,205-2-8
3,500-0-0	2,300-0-0				
	3,409-16-11				
c. 1,500-0-0	1,633-12-0	c. 1,500-0-0	1,641-2-0	c. 1,500-0-0	1,643-18-0
1,632-1-8	1,100-0-0	1,100-0-0	1,200-0-0	c. 1,200-0-0	1,250-0-0
14,450-0-0	5,460-0-0	1,000-0-0	23,446-6-8		4,300-0-0
101,040-0-0	175,044-0-9	103,124-3-6	77,422-17-2	45,277-4-9	146,569-9-6
3,337-8-4	3,337-8-4	3,337-8-4	3,337-8-4	3,739-7-9	7,330-7-4
1,500-0-0	1,500-0-0	1,000-0-0	1,000-0-0(?)	1,000-0-0(?)	1,000-0-0
c. 23,000-0-0	23,275-0-11	25,111-11-7	24,080-10-7	26,038-16-9	25,968-17-7
198,760-13-4	367,344-13-9	420,300-15-11	426,513-5-3	350,102-10-9	353,626-4-7
274,544-4-6	154,597-8-7	55,094-2-4	29,950-19-4		25,368-11-8
29,603-13-5	27,059-15-7	30,053-0-7	28,323-17-2	35,070-12-9	29,708-1-8

Raleigh, soldiers' wages (1589), £1,232-0-0; Francis Drake and J. Norris, special services (1589), £26,000-0-0; works at Portsmouth (1588), £900-0-0; (1589), £1,932-19-11; (1591), £743-16-9; (1593), £933-6-8; (1594), £1,321-12-10; (1595), £194-8-9; Drake and Hawkins for fireships against the ships of Spain (1589), £5,111-0-0; Thomas Fludde, for coats and conducts of 4,000 soldiers to aid the King of France (1589), £6,000-0-0; the mayor of Plymouth and others pro causis Portugalie (1589), £11,091-0-0; Monsieur de la Mardetour, servant of the King of France, to be expended at the Queen's direction (1590), £10,000; Martin Frobisher, to pay 620 men for twelve months (1590), £4,979-0-0; loan to the French ambassador (1590), £15,000-0-0; Marmaduke Darrell, to be employed at Plymouth (1591), £4,106-10-6; loan to the Earl of Essex (1591), £1,000-0-0.

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year Ending Michaelmas	1592	1593	1594
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Treasurer of the Fleet	33,431-0-8	23,448-16-4	38,108-7-7
Surveyor of Victuals of the Fleet	11,507-14-9	8,029-3-9	14,142-4-0
Surveyor of Ordnance of Ships			
Lieutenant of Ordnance	10,018-7-0	10,970-0-2	11,970-5-10
Master of the Armory	400-0-0	460-0-0	1,000-0-0
Surveyor of the Works		4,564-1-5	5,408-6-5
Master of the Revels			411-2-2
Cofferer of the Household in addition to assignments by tallies		5,138-5-4	11,157-5-2
Master of the Wardrobe in addition to assignments by tallies		6,537-4-4	4,443-16-8
Purchase of Spangles	401-16-2	401-16-2	401-16-2
The Gentlemen Pensioners	c. 4,100-0-0	4,772-19-4	4,281-5-1
Berwick, treasurer of			
Ireland	17,332-13-4	13,944-14-8	33,038-12-10
Portsmouth and other garrisons	c. 600-0-0	761-6-0	1,007-8-2
Repayment of foreign loans			
Repayment of domestic loans	33,310-0-0	13,810-0-0	16,475-0-0
Ambassadors (see also individual ambassadors)		3,247-19-6	4,011-2-2
Treasurer of the Chamber	2,400-0-0	2,400-0-0	2,400-0-0
The Queen's Goldsmiths	c. 2,500-0-0	3,519-11-9	1,134-1-11
Lieutenant of the Tower	1,414-1-0	1,426-2-0	1,564-17-3
Diets of Mary, Queen of Scots			
Repairs to castles, buildings and forts			
Diets of the Justices of Assize	c. 1,500-0-0	1,713-18-0	1,544-0-0
Master of the Jewels			
Master of the Post	c. 1,250-0-0	1,288-17-4	1,251-0-0
Aid to the Netherlands and costs of the army there	160,562-7-8	146,221-11-9	148,242-18-3
Pension of Horatio Palavincino	4,685-10-6	2,894-17-0	
Wages and expenses of all Exchequer officers			
The Privy Purse	2,000-0-0	1,000-0-0	
Fees and Annuities	25,638-4-7	23,389-5-2	23,996-6-10
Total Disbursements	329,713-12-11	298,896-12-3	340,846-1-11
Balance in the Tellers' hands		28,187-19-4	74,554-1-4
Assignments by tallies	34,062-18-0	31,542-12-0	32,446-16-3

Other disbursements: To the King of Scots (1591), £3,000-0-0; (1592), £2,000-0-0; (1593), £4,000-0-0; (1594), £4,000-0-0; (1595), £5,000-0-0; (1596), £3,000-0-0; purchase of the manor of Denbigh (1592), £18,000-0-0; repairs at Dover Haven (1593), £907-0-0; (1594), £600-0-0; (1595), £1,191-7-9; (1596), £882-10-9; expenses of the sale of captured pepper (1593), £2,666-13-4; Robert Carey, reward (1593), £1,000-0-0; garrisons at Jersey and Guernsey (1593), £1,125-0-0; (1594), c.£1,000-0-0; (1595), £976-0-0; Robert Sydney, governor of Flushing (1594), £1,672-7-0; Lord Montjoy (1594), £1,074-12-11; Francis Drake, for the cost of six ships fitted out for the Queen's service under Francis Drake, and wages of the sailors (1595), £20,000-0-0; (1596), £8,000-0-0; R. Weyman, loan (?) (1595), £1,000-0-0; (1596), £2,000-0-0; rewards for discovering frauds in customs (1595), £947-2-8; the cost of enlarging the custom house (1595),

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

1595	1596	1597	1598[6]	1599	1600
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
39,178-18-3	51,966-17-11	52,113-9-1	63,567-15-10	69,887-4-8	41,164-19-2 }
14,339-19-8	57,447-11-5	55,628-13-10	25,010-7-1	15,390-15-3	}
14,863-4-11	20,273-16-6	15,430-2-10	14,279-16-11	15,248-9-7	21,055-17-6
600-0-0	1,810-15-2	2,400-0-0	100-0-0		
4,042-11-3	2,864-3-5		5,486-9-9	6,947-1-1	9,888-4-5
4,257-4-1	6,700-17-0		22,840-19-0[7]	30,797-16-9	26,827-18-7
10,392-17-3	6,955-12-1				
	803-12-4	401-16-2			
4,303-6-8	4,235-14-2	6,283-13-8			
900-0-0	1,808-0-4	4,315-16-11	3,500-0-0	5,727-0-0	2,910-0-0
53,927-4-6	67,598-4-4	78,741-0-1	108,254-17-4	336,554-10-5	298,981-4-5
4,602-19-2	1,607-7-0	c. 1,600-0-0	3,509-18-4[8]	5,008-9-10[8]	4,165-0-0[8]
17,396-13-4					20,000-0-0
4,140-16-4	4,322-7-0	4,563-12-9	6,079-18-9	4,416-18-11	9,036-14-7
2,400-0-0	9,156-0-0	10,925-5-0	[9]	[9]	[9]
5,877-19-1	4,127-17-0		4,021-13-5		
1,113-9-0	1,697-0-0	c. 1,500-0-0			1,348-5-2
			2,371-18-3		
1,643-12-8	1,643-19-4	c. 1,600-0-0	3,175-14-1[10]	4,887-15-2[10]	4,484-2-0[10]
1,250-0-0	1,869-15-0	[8]	2,191-11-8	2,344-8-4	1,419-14-8
100,783-19-0	66,115-17-8	72,424-3-4	44,971-5-10	34,012-8-8	28,822-9-8
				3,039-13-4	2,681-5-3
2,693-12-1	1,000-0-0	2,000-0-0			
24,316-2-10	23,855-0-3	c. 23,000-0-0	26,500-4-7	28,501-17-1	27,144-3-9
351,004-17-2	393,472-1-11		368,953-18-9	570,688-17-7	539,902-9-10
131,250-17-4	101,840-10-5				
31,885-17-7	33,312-14-10	34,062-4-4	32,941-1-11	33,124-0-5	32,529-19-8

£723-0-11; (1596), £668-7-2; cordage for the fleet (1596), £7,000-0-0; (1597), £7,658-11-11; purchase of gunpowder (1596), £6,400-0-0; (1597), £5,333-6-8; garrison at Scilley (1596), £533-7-4; Earl of Essex high admiral (1596), £4,000-0-0; Thomas Fludde, for the expedition to Calais (1596), £7,000-0-0; (1597), £15,112-4-4; for the use of the King of France (1596), £6,000-0-0; winter equipment for the armies in Ireland and the Netherlands (1597), £19,306-13-4; Thomas Fludde for Middleboro (1597), £3,326-8-0; Walter Raleigh, for the provision of 6,000 soldiers for the defence of the realm (1597), £18,900-0-0; the purchase of victuals (1597), £22,195-10-0; wages of soldiers returned from Belgium and not yet demobilized (1598), £9,520-16-8; the army in Picardy (1598), £17,702-12-4, (see Thomas Fludde above); the army levied to resist foreign invasion August 11, 1599 (1599), £5,000-0-0.

EXPENDITURES OF THE EXCHEQUER (*continued*)

Year Ending Michaelmas	1601	1602
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Treasurer of the Fleet	69,123-7-8	101,635-11-0
Surveyor of Victuals of the Fleet		
Surveyor of Ordnance of Ships		
Lieutenant of Ordnance	12,953-12-5	6,456-13-4
Master of the Armory		
Surveyor of the Works	7,718-11-2	7,267-5-7
Master of the Revels		
Cofferer of the Household	27,473-5-4	28,116-14-9
in addition to assignments by tallies		
Master of the Wardrobe		
in addition to assignments by tallies		
Purchase of Spangles		
The Gentlemen Pensioners		
Berwick, treasurer of	3,000-0-0	2,845-0-0
Ireland	265,782-1-3	263,577-7-7
Portsmouth and other garrisons	4,894-5-0[8]	3,299-16-8[8]
Repayment of foreign loans		
Repayment of domestic loans		
Ambassadors (see also individual ambassadors)	5,486-5-8	10,826-0-0
Treasurer of the Chamber	[9]	[9]
The Queen's Goldsmiths		
Lieutenant of the Tower		
Diets of Mary, Queen of Scots		
Repairs to castles, buildings and forts		
Diets of the Justices of Assize	6,256-7-7[10]	5,084-16-1[10]
Master of the Jewels		
Master of the Post	3,103-15-4	2,640-9-0
Secret service, to be spent as the Queen directs		
Aid to the Netherlands and costs of the army there	35,969-9-9	21,651-8-10
Wages and expenses of all Exchequer officers	3,498-2-6	c. 3,400-0-0
Fees and Annuities	28,686-6-3	22,922-12-10
Total Disbursements	466-650-2-0	505,846-15-9
Balance in the Tellers' hands		60,663-16-3[11]
Assignments by tallies	31,799-19-6	31,991-8-2

[1] In the account books of the Exchequer nearly all disbursements are recorded as paid to individual, named persons, with not too frequent indications of the offices or positions they held. Most persons named can be identified but when they cannot be and there is no indication of the reason for the payments, the name alone is given.

[2] See Works at Portsmouth, below.

[3] See Thomas Hennage, below.

[4] See Monsieur de la Mardetour, below.

[5] See the Treasurer of the Chamber.

[6] The accounts between 1598 and 1602 are based upon the Declarations of the Clerk of the Pells, who first wrote the declarations of issues for the year 1598. Certain very important payments seem to be omitted, as incomplete auditor's accounts for certain parts of the period show that the payments made before 1598 were still continued to the wardrobe, the armory, the Gentlemen Pensioners, the Queen's Goldsmiths and the King of the Scots. The total payments are therefore larger than those shown.

[7] The payments to the Cofferer of the Household 1598-1603 include also the payments made to the Treasurer of the Chamber.

[8] *All garrisons* are included here.

[9] See note 7, above.

[10] Included also Diets in the Star Chamber and elsewhere.

[11] Treasure on hand on the day of the Queen's death.

SECTION III. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EXCHEQUER

The Medieval Exchequer was divided into two parts, the Upper Exchequer or Exchequer of Account, where the accounts of the revenues were audited, and the Exchequer of Receipt, where the money was actually received and disbursed. This division was maintained in Elizabeth's time, but with very great and important changes from the Medieval system.

The Exchequer of Account was no longer a genuinely single office. The lines of the three audit courts which had been merged in 1554 remained somewhat intact. The office of the Pipe carried on the traditions and conducted the business of the original Exchequer court; the Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths audited the revenues collected from the clergy, recently in the Court of First Fruits and Tenths, while the Augmentations office managed the crown estates. In the Pipe office the earlier practices continued unchanged. The accountants came with their accounts and tallies, after having rendered their payments at the office of the tellers in the Exchequer of Receipt. The original particulars and bills of the accountants were examined by the auditors of the office; from these originals a compotus written on parchment was drawn up, which was signed at the top by the auditors, formally approved by the Exchequer barons and enrolled on one of the great rolls of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office, the Pipe Roll, the Foreign Roll, the Customs Roll or the Subsidy Roll. In the Pipe office were audited the old formal revenues administered by the sheriffs, bailiffs and escheators, the accounts of the collectors of the customs revenues and the accounts of the collectors of fifteenths and tenths, lay and clerical subsidies.[23] In this office were audited also the accounts of the Cofferer of the Household, both his receipts and expenditures. The right to take these accounts was vested here generations before the Tudor dynasty began, and after Henry VIII had withdrawn the ward-

[23] The Clerical subsidies had been under the jurisdiction of the Treasurer of First Fruits and Tenths from 1535 to 1554, but upon the dissolution of the court of First Fruits and Tenths the Clerical subsidies were returned to the oversight of the office of the Pipe.

robe accounts from this office, the accounts of the Cofferer of the Household continued to the end of the Tudor period as the unique accounts of a spending official in this department of the Exchequer. These accounts were enrolled on a special roll, the wardrobe and household roll.

The crown lands in the Augmentations office represented very largely the lay estates confiscated or resumed by Edward IV and Henry VII and their successors, and confiscated monastic and other church lands. In Henry VII's reign, the new crown estates had been placed in charge of auditors, and receivers who rode on circuits over their particular estates, took the accounts of the bailiffs and stewards on the spot and received their revenues, and paid their collections and accounted for them at the Court of General Surveyors. A similar system was introduced in the Court of Augmentations for the monastic estates. In Mary's reign it was recommended to the council by a subcommittee that the identity of the particular estates and monastic holdings often scattered over several counties, which had formed the jurisdictions of the several auditors and receivers be obliterated as far as they still continued to exist. All estates in each shire were laid together to form single jurisdictions, coterminous with the shires, "to save great riding charges."[24] This completed a process of making the county the unit of organization of the crown estates which had begun in Henry VIII's reign. In 1559 the counties were grouped into seven divisions, six in England and one in Wales, and each group was assigned to one of the seven auditors of the Augmentations office, a practice which continued down to 1832.[25] This system, with "particular" receivers for each county, and auditors for groups of several counties each was used in the Augmentations Office all through Elizabeth's reign. The several receivers presented their accounts audited by the auditors to the Receiver-General of crown lands for approval and paid their collections either to the Receiver-General or directly to the Ex-

[24] Harl. Mss. 6850, ff. 103-106.

[25] Lansd. Mss. 3, f. 203.

chequer of Receipt, presenting their tallies or constats to the Receiver-General for their acquittance. Their accounts were preserved in the Augumentations office in various series, especially the Receivers accounts, and the Views of Accounts; and they never formed part of the Pipe Office records, and were never enrolled in the great rolls in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office or the King's Remembrancer's office like the records of the Pipe office.

The Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths likewise had his own staff of collectors and auditors, carrying on the organization and tradition of the Court of First Fruits and Tenths. His accounts are preserved in series continuous with those of the former Treasurer of First Fruits and Tenths, in the First Fruits and Tenths office. Like the Augmentations Office accounts they never entered the course of the ancient Exchequer procedure.

Fully as important as the auditing of receipts in any revenue system is the audit of expenditure accounts. This audit was potentially the weakest point in the Tudor system. As Henry VII planned its organization, the most important disbursements, especially for the special non-routine purposes, were to be entirely under his own control, both in their expenditure and audit, so that no authority could arise as a check to the royal will. This purpose was accomplished by issuing sums for special purposes to the king's agents and ministers "in prest," or as an advance, and such prests or advances were then paid out as the crown directed. Henry VII kept careful record of such prests and at appropriate times summoned the officials in charge to render their accounts to him in person in the form of a Declaration of Account. Before the account was actually submitted to the king, auditors especially appointed by him, called the king's auditors, went over it, and drew it up in concise and accurate form. In 1545 two auditors of the Court of Augmentations, Francis Southwell and Walter Mildmay, are spoken of as "auditors jointly of the kings prests" as though they had permanent appointments for this purpose,[26] previous

[26] Letters and Papers, 20 I, Nos. 134, 1094.

auditors having been appointed for the special accounts in hand only. Mildmay and Southwell audited the prest accounts in preparation for declaration to the king, now practically always represented by a commission, until the reorganization of the Court of Augmentations in 1547 when the office of the two auditors of the Prests and Foreign Accounts was created, distinct from the other auditors of the new court.[27] Mary abolished the office when the Augmentations was joined to the Exchequer, but the prest accounts continued to be declared before the Queen in council, examined first by the auditors specially appointed for this purpose. In 1560 Elizabeth appointed two auditors of the prests and foreign accounts, and added their office to the Exchequer.[28]

The practice of presting great sums to special agents was continued through the Elizabethan period, and as in the earlier Tudor period many regular departments were treated in the same way as the "prests" in so far as audit was concerned. Certain of the departments, the Chamber, the Great Wardrobe, the surveyor of works, the treasurer of Berwick, the Hanaper of Chancery, the surveyor of victuals of the Fleet, the master of the ordnance, the Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths, the Chief Butler and the treasurer of the navy submitted their accounts each year for audit or were supposed to,[29] but since the crown-in-council (in the person of Burghley) kept exclusive control and oversight over the prests there was no provision for regular submission of such accounts to the auditors. Audit and subsequent declaration depended entirely upon the whim of the crown-in-council, and the accuracy of its records and memory. As a general rule, prest accounts were called for only after rather long periods—Thomas Shirley, treasurer of war in the Low Countries, continued in his office for seven years and expended over £590,000 between two audits and declarations.[30] Under an able administrator like Burghley there was little opportunity for peculation; but under

[27] Letters and Papers, 21 II, 771 (1).

[28] Patent Rolls, 2 Eliz. part 3, membrane 25b, Palmer Indexes, 136, p. 74.

[29] Lansd. Mss. 56, f. 142, Anno. 1588.

[30] Declared Accounts, P. O. No. 241.

less able, honest or careful councillors there might be much fraud. The general procedure in Elizabeth's reign when it was determined to close an account, was for the Queen-in-Council to issue a commission to a committee, consisting of great ministers of state—late in the reign the Lord Treasurer, the Under Treasurer of the Exchequer and one of the Exchequer Barons were always included—who called upon the accountant for his accounts. The accountant then proceeded to the audit office, where his particular books and schedules were examined and from them a Declaration of Account was drawn up which was submitted to the commissioners of the Council. On its approval by the commissioners the accountant received his acquitance. Two or three copies of the Declaration were drawn up. One, signed by the commissioners was supposed to be given to the accountant as his receipt, the others were preserved by the auditors. Late in Elizabeth's reign the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer urged that these accounts pass through his office to the Clerk of the Pipe, so that they might be treated like the Household and Customs accounts, that is, be enrolled on the great Foreign roll.[31] In James's reign it was directed that a copy of each Declaration of account be turned over to the clerk of the Pipe to enroll, but this development, which explains the existence of two series of declarations of accounts in the audit office and pipe office, was foreign and opposed to the tradition and history of this form of audit.[32]

In whatsoever ways the revenues of the Exchequer were audited, they were all paid into the Exchequer of Receipt, to the four tellers, except in the case of revenues assigned by tallies. As Henry VII reformed this department of the Exchequer the tellers kept the money received by them in their own possession. In Elizabeth's reign they even fitted up offices in their own houses at the Queen's expense, kept their strong boxes there, and trans-

[31] S. P. Eliz., CCLV, No. 62.

[32] A few declarations of account are enrolled in the foreign roll of Elizabeth's reign. Certain of them show by internal evidence that they were not enrolled until James's reign, and that may be true of others. L. T. R. Foreign Roll, 121.

acted business at home instead of going to their offices. The great surplus funds seem to have been kept in bags in great chests either in the Tower, in the office of the Receipt or in "the new treasury made of late" (1572) for that special purpose.[33] Their accounts were kept in simple paper books, in which brief records of all transactions were entered. From these the auditor of the receipt, who bore the official title of the Treasurer's clerk for Writing the Tallies, made up the formal accounts of the Tellers, for declaration before the crown. From Henry VII's reign to Edward VI's, these declarations were called "Declarations of the State of the Treasury," and are among the most beautiful documents, in elegance of writing, capital ornamentation and quality of parchment in the Public Record Office. In Mary's reign they became somewhat less sumptuous and in Elizabeth's reign were prepared in two or three forms, differing in arrangement, amount of detail, and title. These were now entitled *Visus Solucionium et Exituum quattuorum Numeratorum,* for the fuller account, and for an abbreviation of the same, "*Brevis declaratio de omnibus denariis.*"[34]

In the Exchequer of Receipt there was a medieval element, the Court of Receipt, which Henry VII did not disturb, perhaps because of the difficulty of dispossessing the vested interests there, perhaps also because this body provided the link between the tellers and the Pipe office. After a teller had made the entry into his paper book, he copied the entry upon a slip of parchment, giving briefly the particulars of the payment. This slip or bill was either "cast into the Court of Receipt by a trunck made for that

[33] S. P. Eliz., XXII, No. 58; Cott. Mss., Titus B IV f. 191b.

[34] They were made for each term, written in Latin, two columns to the page, each column in three parts, showing the term of continuance of the payment, the name of the person and reason, and the record of the payment. Each teller is dealt with separately, and under the teller's name the receipts and issues are divided according to their "natures." See note appended to Table in section I for the references to these accounts. There is another series preserved in somewhat fragmentary form which is perhaps the auditor's first and second drafts of these accounts, in which one page contains rough pencil entries, while on the opposite page is a fair copy, Eger. Mss. 2723, ff. 1-86, Annis 1569-1581 passim.

purpose" or was given to the accountant to be carried by him to the Court of Receipt and handed to the treasurer's clerk for writing the tallies, the *Clericus ad Tallia Scribenda.* A second clerk of the treasurer, the clerk for writing the Pells entered the bill, letter for letter into a record called the Pell, or treasurer's roll of receipts, while two clerks for writing the Controllment of the Pells, each representing one of the Chamberlains, entered it into two other records, the so-called Receipt Rolls. The usher of the Receipt then cut notches representing the sum paid, as stated in the bill and read aloud by the clerk for writing tallies, into the side of a square stick of hazel wood, or tally. When the tally was properly notched, the clerk for writing the tallies copied the bill upon the two sides of it word for word. Finally the clerks of the Chamberlains for splitting the tallies, the *Clerici ad Tallia Scindenda* compared the notches in the tally and the two inscriptions upon the sides of it with the bill, and the three entries in the three receipt rolls. If all agreed the clerks for splitting the tallies split the tally down the center of the notched side, so that each half carried a record of the payment. One half, called the stock was given to the accountant, and the other, the foil, was deposited in the court, to be sent to the Exchequer of account, there to be compared with the stock by the chamberlain's clerks for joining the tallies when the accountant should present his account for audit.[35] In the late eighties there was so much fraud in changing of notches in tallies, that about 1592 Burghley ordered that in the future the tally should be accompanied by a constat, or written bill copied from the official record of payment at the receipt. But there was no thought of giving up the tallies!

Before the reign of Henry VII triplicate records of issues from the Exchequer were also kept in the Court of Receipt, but with the more direct control of the king over the tellers and the discharge of the chamberlains from the custody of money, the triplicate issue rolls were abolished. But their tradition survived,

[35] This account is based upon a bundle of documents in the Record Office, Exch. of Receipt, Miscellanea, 396, describing Exchequer proceedure, especially those numbered 2, 7, 17, 82.

and successive clerks for writing the Pells must have looked back to the flesh pots of Egypt, when in addition to their fees for writing the pell of receipt, they also had those for writing the pell of issue. At length, during Elizabeth's reign, Robert Hare, then clerk of the Pells "having purpose to pass away his office of writer of the pell," made suggestions to Winchester, still Lord Treasurer, and to Walter Mildmay newly appointed Chancellor of the court and unfamiliar with its practices, that the pell of issue had been discontinued and neglected and got an increase of £10 16s 8d. for himself and 100 shillings for a clerk to revive it. Two years later, in the twelfth year of reign, he got a further increase of £13 6s 8d. in fees "but did no service"—that is, the pell of issue was then not permanently revived. Soon afterwards he sold his office to Chidiock Wardour who seems to have been an energetic and pushful self-seeker, and who knew the Black Book of the Exchequer and pre-Tudor practice to good purpose. His commission presented to Winchester contained the exact words from the Black Book relating to the *Clericus Thesaurii,* a medieval official whose functions were now divided among several officials. "Under color of this grant he wormed his way in." He at once claimed not only the writing of the discarded and useless pell of issue, but also the writing of certain certificates and specialties and the annual declarations of account of the tellers which with their fees were the prerogatives of the auditor of the Receipt. These claims precipitated a violent and long drawn-out quarrel between Wardour and the auditor, Robert Peter and his successor Vincent Skinner, which was still merrily proceeding early in James's reign. Wardour was incessant in his demands for new duties and fees. For a time he and Peter seem to have compromised and written the declarations of the tellers' receipts in alternate terms, but the declaration of the issues Peter would not divide, since with it necessarily went the right to enroll all patents and warrants directed to the tellers for payment, a vast number in the course of a year, each entry of which carried a fee. Wardour, however, gradually got the right to enroll certain warrants and privy seals

along with the auditor with a share of the fees; in 1592 he received the exclusive right to write the constats, and in 1597 the pell of issue was restored. With it Wardour began to write the declarations both of receipts and issues, in competition with Skinner.

To the Lord Treasurer and the Council the quarrel of Wardour and Peter and Skinner must have been a perpetual nuisance and it must have divided the Exchequer into two bitter factions. Reams and reams of paper were used on each side—it is from such parts of this as have been preserved that the fullest and most complete evidence of Exchequer practices in Elizabeth's time comes.[36] It serves with such other facts as are known to show that contrary to the generally accepted notion, the Exchequer even in its oldest portion was not the same institution through many centuries, but changed and developed as circumstances and personalities bore upon it.

SECTION IV. ROYAL CONTROL OF THE EXCHEQUER

For several centuries before the Tudor period English kings had attempted to establish complete royal control over the use of the revenues. The later Plantagenet and Lancastrian rulers used certain offices of the Household, especially the Wardrobe and the Chamber, as independent treasuries, into which revenues were paid and from which they were disbursed on warrants under the Privy Seal, rather than under the Great Seal kept in the Chancery. Such attempts to supersede the Exchequer and Chancery aimed to free the king from the control of the great magnates whose strongholds were the Exchequer and Chancery, in order to establish royal absolutism, as is shown especially well by the events of Edward II's reign. Failure marked the efforts until Henry VII not only broke the power of the barons but backed his new treas-

[36] The most important letters and documents relating to this quarrel are those in Exch. of Receipt, Miscellanea, 396; Lansd. Mss. 106, 151, 164, 166, 171 passim; Cott. Mss., Titus B, IV passim; Harl. Mss. 5176, No. 5; Add. Mss. 34, 274; Eger. Mss., 806 f. 36 beside entries in the State Papers and Hatfield Mss.

ury, the Treasury of the Chamber, with a new court of audit, the General Surveyors, so that revenues removed from the province of the Exchequer were still duly accounted and audited, without danger of loss. The elaborate system of checks used in the Exchequer to prevent fraud and peculation was not introduced into the new Tudor revenue courts. A very simple, speedy and efficient system of procedure was used, but to insure honesty it was essential that the records be carefully and regularly examined by the king in person or by delegation of his authority to a trusted minister, and that regular reports of the state of the revenues should be submitted to the king. The multiplication of treasuries and courts of audit in Henry VIII's reign made the new arrangements so very cumbersome, that it was difficult to continue the close personal attention to the new courts which Henry VII, Wolsey and Cromwell had given. With the disintegration of Henry VIII's personal powers and the rise of the council to more perfect control of the state after 1544 the close personal inspection of the revenue reports by the king or his responsible agent was remitted. Quarterly, semi-annual or yearly reports to the king lapsed or were made only long after they were due. Exceptions are found only in periods of especial stress, as in 1551, in Edward VI's time, when the council peremptorily ordered all courts to submit their reports, so that the state of the revenues might be accurately known.[37] General reports of the merged revenues of the Augmentations, First Fruits and Tenths and Exchequer courts began to appear immediately after the merger of these courts in 1554; and while economy was stressed as the compelling motive for their unification, considerations of the convenience of general reports and ease of royal supervision over a unified financial system may not have been lacking.[38]

The unifying work of Mary's ministers aided Burghley in completely restoring that control of the crown—if not of the

[37] This report is found B.M. Add. Mss. 30,198.

[38] For examples of the general reports for the reign of Mary, see Cott. Mss., Titus B IV, f. 125. Lansd. Mss. 662, f. 41.

crown-in-person, at any rate the crown-in-council—over the revenues which is the most outstanding characteristic of the Tudor system. He had been interested in finance when as plain Mr. Cecil he was Northumberland's clerk of the council, and had attempted to restore sanity in the muddle of Edward VI's affairs. Immediately on Elizabeth's accession he became principal secretary, and as his preserved papers in the Lansdowne and Hatfield collections show, he at once took charge of the government finances, and from then until his death in 1598, he was endlessly busied with reports, memoranda of ways and means, directions to collectors and commissioners for subsidies, loans, preambles to subsidy acts, letters and privy seals to the Exchequer tellers, disputes between Exchequer officials, the Queen's installed debts, the rising prices for household supplies and every kind of financial question, in addition to his other responsibilities. He truly had "the purse and wisdom of this land both in one hand." The Marquis of Winchester continued as Lord Treasurer on Elizabeth's accession; but Burghley early rendered him some services in dispelling some suspicion against him from Elizabeth's mind, which made him subservient and even loyal.[39] He sometimes hindered Burghley's projects and neglected to regard his orders, but he always recognized Burghley as the ultimate authority and turned to him for advice and direction on every occasion.[40] On Winchester's death in 1572 Burghley himself assumed the office which he had already controlled since 1558.

From the beginning of the reign reports of various sorts gave him exact knowledge of the state of the revenues. Winchester made frequent and informal reports on the outstanding features

[39] "We have perceived by your several letters . . . that the report made to the Queen's Majesty of our deceitful service done to her grace in her moneys hath been hard to remove from her, yet your wisdom has done it and turned her blame to thanks." Winchester and Sackville to Cecil, October 6, 1560, S. P. Eliz. XIV, No. 13.

[40] There is preserved among the Burghley papers in the Lansdowne manuscripts a very considerable correspondence between Winchester and Burghley (or Cecil as he still was until 1571) in which Winchester asks advice and instruction. "I desire to know your good mind," Winchester would write, or he has done so and so, "having learned your good mind."

in the revenues in his letters, telling of the receipts coming in and the payments impending.[41] Sometimes rather longer reports were submitted at unusual times.[42] He was constantly receiving short reports and certificates of particular revenues like those of the revenues of the County Palatine of Chester, the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, the debts due in the office of the treasurer of the ships, the armory accounts and fines, issues and amercements. More important were the formal reports of the revenue courts which may be roughly divided into two classes. The first were the great formal reports of all the regular revenues drawn several years after the end of the fiscal year. These showed apparently the total amount of the revenues due in the year which had been collected, whether paid in that year or later, and the sums disbursed for the ordinary charges of the government from those revenues. The remainder or surplus was available for present needs, and all these accounts which date from the earlier portion of the reign are filled with notes in Burghley's hand allocating the surplus to the payment of debts and extraordinary charges.[43] The second class of accounts showed the sums actually received and paid by the four tellers with the sums on hand at the end of the term.[44] These were much more exact than the others and being rendered each term, at Easter and Michaelmas, gave exact knowledge of the actual receipts, expenditures and surplus on hand. They served a further purpose, in that they were the Declarations which must be made to the crown, before the various

[41] S. P. Eliz. XIX No. 4, VII No. 74, XIV No. 15, XXXVII No. 23, XXXIX No. 59, Lansd. Mss. 7, f 110.

[42] S. P. Eliz. XXXVII, Nos. 53, 54, papers in the hands of Winchester and his clerk, revenue in sight and money owing, May 20, 1535, annotated by Cecil. Lansd. Mss., 6, f 67—a letter of Winchester's followed by statement of debts of the realm beyond sea, 19 Apr. 1563.

[43] Examples of such reports are preserved in Lansd. Mss. 4 ff 56, 182, 194; Cott. Mss., Titus B. IV, f 159, Lansd. Mss., 14, f 7 ff; Add Mss. 34729, f. 41. These have already been referred to as primitive Budgets, see page 18.

[44] Similar accounts exist for the Court of Wards, the Duchy of Lancaster and the Hanaper of Chancery, showing amounts actually received during the year and amount actually paid out during the same time.

officials could consider their accounts completely audited and approved. They constituted a perennial acknowledgement of the crown as the responsible controller of the revenue system.

Exact knowledge and final audit were combined, in the vindication of royal control over the Exchequer, with the evolution of simpler and more direct methods by which the crown could order disbursements and payments from its funds in the Exchequer. The use of the warrants under the Privy Seal instead of the more formal warrants under the Great Seal marked an attempt of this kind much earlier than the Tudor period. Forty-five Privy Seals were regularly used for the great "prests" or advances to the important departments. Sometimes the tellers paid out great sums on oral instructions from Burghley, and it was necessary to remind him on occasion to make out the proper warrants so that the tellers might have their discharge. Late in the reign the practice was adopted of sending bills endorsed by the Lord Treasurer, without the formality of a warrant, to the auditor of the receipt with the request that he pass it on to one of the tellers, as well as their discharge.[46] It might be noted again that prests or advances were spent by the officials receiving them on the sole authority of the crown; they too, like the treasury officials, made their declarations before the crown in commission and without the approval of the crown they had no discharge.[47]

The Elizabethan Exchequer as developed by Burghley is the culmination of the Tudor revenue organization. Its history is told in the Exchequer departments, the Pipe office, the Augmentations office, the Remembrancer of First Fruits and Tenths and the Audit office. The Exchequer procedure was a refinement of that first suggested by Richard III and developed by Henry VII and Cromwell. The control of the crown was complete and actual, and in it can be discovered much of the machinery if not also the dynamics of the Elizabethan absolutism, hitherto studied too exclusively

[45] See above p. 00.

[46] Examples of such endorsed bills are preserved in Add. Mss. 37,999 passim.

[47] See above, pages 24-27.

from the parliamentary and political angle. This control was guarded against baronial reaction, long after there were no more barons, while those elements among the gentry who sat in Parliament rather than in the Council had no possibility of getting any hold. The machine was perfect for its work, so long as there was a Burghley to restrain the Council itself,[48] and so long as the precarious fuel supply lasted.

[48] Immediately after his death there was a great increase in the fees of Exchequer officials and a generally relaxed tone in watching expenditures which the Irish rebellion made unusually large. Was the loot of the Treasury which in the guise of grants to favorites is so often attributed to James I already beginning? And was it the work of the Council, rather than of the monarch from Scotland?

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JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

LETTERS OF FRANCIS PARKMAN TO PIERRE MARGRY

With Introductory Note by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

John Spencer Bassett

Pierre Margry was born in 1818 and died in 1894. In 1839 General Cass, United States minister to France, employed him to aid in collecting documents relating to the early history of the Old Northwest. Margry was then but 30 years old and the three and a half years he served in this capacity fixed his taste and gave direction to his life's endeavor. When John Romeyn Broadhead appeared in Paris to gather documents relating to the early history of New York, Cass advised him to employ Margry, and the suggestion was adopted. In a letter to Parkman, December 24, 1889, Margry alludes to his connection with these two men, and refers to his service at this time as "le travail ce qui donna une direction à ma vie." Shortly after this time, if indeed it were not shortly before, he became connected with the *Archives de la Marine et des Colonies* where he was to spend the remainder of his active life. For a large portion of the time he was the principal officer in charge, with official title of "Conservateur."

In this period Margry began to make copies of important documents. He exhausted the possibilities of the archives of the marine and colonies and then turned to other depositories. Wherever he could learn that material was to be found, in public or private hands, relating to the colonial history of France, he sought it and made copies, many of them with his own hand. In a long life of devoted effort he thus amassed a large collection of transcripts. After his death it passed into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In 1900 M. Henri Omont, in charge of manuscripts in that library, published an account of the collection in the library's *Inventaire Sommaire* for the years 1898 and 1899. The collection is described as a "recueil de copies de pièces, mémoires, lettres, etc., faites sur les originaux des archives de la Marine et des Colonies, des Bibliothèque Nationale, Sainte-Geneviève et de l'Arsenal, des archives du Canada et

d'archives privées, etc." On the French colonies in North America there are 62 titles, relating to Canada, New France, Acadie, and Louisiana. On the Antilles are 19 titles, and on colonies in Africa and Asia 45 titles. On the French navy are 67 titles, with 29 on "Journaux de Bord" and 29 on naval construction, hydrography, naval schools, and archives. The catalogue ends with 2 titles on "Anoblissement et Majorats." The vast extent of this collection shows with what industry and devotion it was built up by Margry.

The part in which he was most interested and which attracted most attention was the sixty-two items relating to French colonies in North America. Its existence became known and writers on the history of New France began to make approaches with a view of obtaining the privilege of using it. Margry refused all such requests. He had collected his materials with the view of publication; and he did not feel called upon to place the results of his labors at the disposal of newcomers in the field, by so doing lessening the value of his proposed work. To Parkman, for whom he formed a warm friendship, this refusal was as unyielding as to anyone else. Parkman, however, appreciated Margry's position and did not question its propriety, which is more than could be said for most of the other disappointed ones.

In 1870 Henry Harrisse, recently arrived in Paris from New York, formed a plan to get congress to pay all or a portion of the expenses of publishing such valuable parts of the collection as were related to our early history. The project had the support of the minister of the United States in Paris, but it failed, probably because it was not supported by influential literary people in this country. Harrisse was not always felicitious in dealing with others, and the failure may have been due in a measure to his awkward handling of the situation. Later on, when the project came to successful fruition through the efforts of Parkman and others whom he aroused to action, Harrisse sought to have himself recognized as a part of the enterprise, but he was rebuffed with firmness by Margry and also by Parkman.

In 1872 Parkman was in Paris and had many interviews with Margry. Instead of complaining because he could not see Mar-

gry's papers, he determined to see if they could not be published. On his return to Boston he approached a publisher with an idea of bringing them out as a private venture. The firm interviewed were willing to take the work, if a specified number of advanced subscriptions could be obtained. Parkman set to work to get them, but the Boston Fire of that year intervened, and it was decided that no further steps in the matter should be taken.

Parkman then turned to congress, writing many letters to influential public men, as E. Rockwood Hoar, and James A. Garfield, and Orsamus H. Marshall of Buffalo and E. B. Washburne, United States minister in Paris. Through the efforts he set in motion congress voted to buy 500 copies of the work when published, at twenty dollars the set. The work was to be printed at Paris, in French, and it was to be brought out under the supervision of the committee on the Library of Congress. Under this arrangement Margry was able, after some delay and much anxiety, to issue in six volumes (1876-1886)[1] his *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1614-1754).

Beyond these facts little can be said about Pierre Margry.[2] He was a man of modest renown, important in the office he held, and most important in the field of research in his special subject. Beyond that, he had the friendship of Francis Parkman, a man who gave friendships with discretion. There never was a man less likely to be deceived in judging a friend than the Yankee historian of French officialdom in Canada. How warm was the feeling between the two men their letters well attest. Whatever Margry was to other men, to Parkman he was a man to be honored and esteemed for his character.

The letters here published are all from Parkman, except such as he enclosed to his correspondent touching something under

[1] In 1879 to 1888 an edition was issued with the title *Mémoires et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire des Origines Françaises d'outre-Mer: Découvertes et Etablissement, etc.*

[2] In a letter to Parkman (Mass. Hitl. Soc.) Margry refers to a memoir of himself by Abbé Gamon, published by Abbé Faillors, "dans sa Biographie," 1877.

discussion. They are preserved in the Margry Manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale.* The replies to them, Margry to Parkman, and some more of the same kind, are in the Parkman Manuscripts in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is to be hoped that this other side of the correspondence, may not remain long unpublished.

Parkman's handwriting is often hard to decipher, and it is not always possible to be sure of his writing. The copies used in this publication were made by the editor's daughter, Miss Margaret Byrd Bassett, and it may be considered fortunate that she was able to reproduce them with so few undeciphered words. The Editor is grateful to her for giving up a part of a brief vacation in Paris to this kind of labor. Parkman's French is not always either correct or idiomatic. It contains many Americanisms, such as one might naturally expect of one who had learned the language mainly in America. He himself says in a letter of December 11, 1872: "Pardonnez les fautes de mon style. Je n'ai plus mon bon maitre de la Rue Mont Thabor pour me donner des leçons en Français." He often omits accents, writing "reponse", "ainée", "votre", "coté", etc.; or adds accents where they do not belong, as "effêt", "obligéance", etc.; or spells French words under the influence of their English equivalent, as "addresse", "accidentale", etc. He often makes slips as to gender, predicate adjectives, and the use of the subjunctive. But the editors have felt that it would not be wise to try to rectify such errors. He has, however, corrected a number of misspellings, where is seemed evident that they were due to slips of the pen.

All the letters from Parkman to Margry that have been found are included in this publication. Some, it is true, are trivial, but the few of that nature are very brief and the advantage of knowing that the collection is complete will balance, perhaps, the disadvantage of including such material. All the letters given are by Parkman and to Margry, except where the titles show the contrary. They are bound in a volume of letters and the "leaf" is usually indicated.

J. S. B.

Letters of Francis Parkman to Pierre Margry*

(Leaf 169) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 19 Nov. 1869.

Mon cher Monsieur Margry,

Je vous ai envoyé par l'entremise de M. Reinwald, libraire, 15 Rue des Saints Pères, cette fameuse vie de Cavelier de la Salle dont je vous ai si souvent parlé et qui vient de paraître ici. Lisez la, critiquez-la, ne m'épargnez pas. Je vous saurai gré de toutes vos rigueurs. Vous recevrez bientôt, si vous ne l'avez pas dejà reçu, le diplôme de membre honoraire de la Sociéte Historique de Massachusetts. J'ai presenté votre nom à la société, qui s'est empressée d'agréer votre nomination à l'unanimité. C'est la plus ancienne de nos sociétés historiques, et on peut l'appeler à juste titre la mère de toutes les autres. Depuis la fin du dernier siècle elle s'est occupée sans cesse à collectionner des documents et à eclaircir des faits relatifs a l'histoire de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Le nombre des membres honoraires est très restreint.

J'ai envoyé aussi un exemplaire de mon livre à notre ami M. Garnier, dont j'ai reçu deux lettres. Je l'ai félicité sur son succès à l'égard du prix de Rouen. Quant à moi, je vais commencer l'histoire de Frontenac et de ses contemporains.——— Mais voici ma fille Grace qui entre et qui veut m'entretenir des choses de la plus haute importance, c'est à dire de ses nouvelles cartes-de-visite, etc. etc. car elle a 18 ans et, chaperonnée par sa tante, doit faire son début dans le monde cet hiver. Adieu, donc, et croyez moi toujours

Votre tout-dévoué

Pourquoi croyez-vous que M. Bigelow va écrire la vie de la Salle? Il s'occupe presentement à rediger des journaux. Je n'entends parler d' aucun projet historique de sa part. Si vous attendez qu'il ait publié un livre, vous attendrez longtemps.

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* All the letters, except where otherwise noted, are from Parkman to Margry. The "Leaf" refers to place in the manuscript volume in the *Bibliothèque Nationale,* Margry's correspondence, where they are found.

50 Chestnut St. Boston U. S. A. 30 Jan. 1870.

Mon cher Monsieur Margry,

Je reçus il y a huit jours votre aimable lettre. Je ne puis conçevoir pourquoi mon livre été retardé. Je me rendis tout de suite chez le libraire qui m'assura l'avoir expédié le 4 Novembre à M. Low de Londres, pour être envoyé par l'entremise de Mr. Reinwald. J'espère qu'à présent il vous est parvenu. J'envoyai au même temps un exemplaire à M. Garnier.

Quant à notre société historique que vous avez la témerité de croire moins ancienne que l'obelisque de Lugsor, sachez qu'elle renferme parmi ses membres, tants morts que vivants, tout ce qu'il y a de plus distingué au pays des Yankees—par exemple, Sparks, Prescott, Motley, Everett, etc.—et que M. Winthrop qui y préside avec une grace on ne peut plus majestueuse, est non pas moins orgueilleux de son caractère de président que de sa descendance de John Winthrop, premier gouverneur de Massachusetts. Si vous voulez signaler votre enrôlement dans cet illustre corps par un mot de correspondance tout mieux pour nous; mais cela n'est par nécessaire, et vous pouvez bien vous dispenser de vous en donner la peine. La plupart de ses membres correspondants ne correspondent pas. Vous avez accepté votre nomination en forme; soyez donc tranquille, et n'ajoutez pas de nouveaux douleurs aux maux de votre dos.

Pour revenir à mes moutons. Messieurs les éditeurs de mes livres m'engagent à écrire prochainement l'histoire des rapports entre les puritains de la Nouvelle Angleterre et leurs voisins français de l'Acadie, c'est à dire la lutte entre La Tour et d'Aulnay et la vie de St. Castin. Ainsi il faut que je diffère pour quelque temps l'histoire du gouvernement du Comte Frontenac que je voulais commencer. Est-ce que nous serons de nouveau en concurrence? Je ne le crois pas, et j'espère que vous voudrez m'assister de nouveau en mes recherches. Ferland (I; 249 *note*) cite un *mémoire de la Motte Cadillac, janvier* 1720 (Archives de la Marine) où il y a quelque chose qui a rapport à mes sujets et l'auteur des "Preuves de l'Historie de la maison de Menon"

(p. 168) cite comme autorité sur la prise du Fort St. Jean en 1645, un *Procés verbal du Prévôt* (Archives de la Marine). Ces documents ne se trouve dans aucune des collections d'ici. Je voudrais bien en avoir des copies.* Voulez-vous m'aider en les faisant faire? Ayez la bonté de m'indiquer la somme nécessaire et je vous l'enverrai.

Les Jésuites d'ici ne sont pas trop contents de mon dernier livre. Mon bon ami Shea, autrefois Jésuite, maintenant père de famille m'a écrit que je me suis laisser trop influencer par Monsieur Margry, qui doit appartenir selon lui, au parti moqueur de la jeune France. Je lui ai respondu que tout au contraire, Monsieur Margry, bien qu'il n'aime pas passionement les Jésuites, est toutefois un brave et zélé catholique, qu'il a parmi ses amis quantité de bons religieux, même qu'il a le dessein de demeurer chez eux afin de se former dans leurs vertus.

Le célébre Major visite Boston de temps en temps, mais je ne l'ai pas abordé depuis longtemps. Il est devenu gros, gras, et gris.

Enfin souvenez-vous que la vie est courte. Hâtez—vous de publier vos documents, afin qu'on ne dise de vous *sic vos non vobis,* et croyez—moi toujours

Votre tout dévoué

(*Leaf 173*) 50 Chestnut St., Boston 31 Mars. 1870.

Mon cher Monsieur Margry,

Je viens de recevoir votre lettre sans date. J'ai cru que vous étiez depuis longtemps chevalier de la légion d'honneur, comme vous auriez dû l'être, et je suis bien aise que le corps a fait enfin cette justice à vous et à lui-même.

Est-ce que je fais une incursion nouvelle dans vos sujets? C'est ce que je voudrais bien éviter. Vous vous occupez, à ce que vous dites, des Rusilly. Quant à moi, je n'ai pas le dessein d'ap-

* Quant au premier document, un extrait des parties touchant la Tour, d'Aulnay et St Castin serait suffisant.

puyer sur cette partie de mon thème, qui est, comme je l'ai dit, les rapports entre les Français de l'Acadie et les puritains de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Les Rusilly n'ont eu que faire des puritains, aussi n'ai je besoin que de faire seulement allusion à eux comme les prédécesseurs de la Tour et d'Aulnay. La lutte de ces deux rivaux, si curieuse par rapport à l'histoire de la N. Angleterre, a grand besoin d'être éclaircie, et mon dessein est d'en faire une petite monographe, laissant de coté l'histoire de St. Castin que j'avais d'abord l'intention d'y joindre. Mais si vous allez vous occuper vous même de ce sujet, vous n'avez qu'à parler, car, si vous le demandez, j'abandonnerai le champ.

Quant aux documents que vous avez eu l'extrême bonté de copier pour moi, vous pouvez les remettre entre les mains de Monsieur Thomas B. Curtis 123 Avenue des Champs Elysées. C'est un ami de jeu.

(Leaf 175) 50 Chestnut St. Boston. 24 Nov. 1872.

Mon cher Monsieur Margry,

J'arrivai à Boston le 7me du mois. Le 8me je me rendis chez M. M. Little Brown et Cie pour leur soumettre les propositions dont vous m'avez chargés. Ils m'écoutèrent avec la plus grande attention. M. Bartlett, l'un des principaux associés me dit: "Je crois que cela peut se faire. Nous n'y gagnerons pas d'argent, mais vous y gagnerons de l'honneur." J'étais très content. C'était un heureux commencement.

Mais le lendemain, Samedi, survint un coup de tonnerre et sept heures et demi du soir le feu prit a quelques grands magazins au milieu du plus riche quartier commercial de la ville. Les flammes se repandaient avec une vitesse et un fureur incroyables. Les pomps à vapeur jettaient des torrents d'eau sans aucun effet. Dans deux au trois heures tout le quartier brûlait. Les banques, les magazins, les bureaux d'administration et de commerce furent dévorés par douzaines et par centaines. C'était un spectacle à la fois sublime et affreux. De gros et solides batiments de granit ou

de grès semblaient se fondre comme dans un fourneau. La ville toute entière était menacée de destruction. L'incendie continuait jusqu'au Dimanche soir, et ne fut arrêtée qu'en faisant sauter beaucoup de maisons. Grand nombre de gens les plus riches sont ruinés. M. M. Little Brown et Cie ont heureusement échappé: le feu s'est arrêté à 50 mêtres de leurs magazins, grace au nouveau bureau de poste, qui est tout près. C'est un vaste batiment construit entièrement de granit de brique, et de fer, de sorte qu'il a pu resister aux flammes.

Moi aussi j'ai de quoi me féliciter, ayant perdu très peu.

La somme des pertes monte presqu'à cent millions dollars (500,000,000 francs). Harvard University a beaucoup perdu, car elle a de grandes propriétés foncières dans la ville. Toutes les gens de bien s'empressent de lui prêter secours, bien que la plupart d'entre eux soient euxmêmes grièvement atteints.

Vous et moi, cette malheureuse incendie nous a touché, car à l'avis de Little Brown et Cie il est impossible d'entreprendre une publication si importante dans un temps où presque tous les patrons de lettres sont mis hors de combat ou occupés à suppléer à des besoins les plus urgents.

Ni le courage ni l'espérance ne manque. Boston n'est pas ruinée. Elle se rétablira plus tard; mais il faut attendre un peu; et cependant si vous voulez m'envoyer des propositions pour le gouvernement à Washington, j'essayerai de les faire accepter.

Comment va la copie des manuscripts. Je vais recommencer tout de suite mes études, interrompues par nos malheurs.

Faites-mois entendre de vos nouvelles. En attendant je vous serre la main.

Croyez moi tout à vous

Je vous ai envoyé "Pontiac" (nouvelle édition) et "The Oregon Trail" par les mains de M. M. Sampson Low & Son Londres. R. S. V. P.

(Leaf 178) 50 Chestnut St. Boston. 11 Dec. 1872.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai reçu vos deux bonnes et aimables lettres. La derniére (du 24 Nov.) est venue hier au soir. Je viens d'écrire à M. Whittlesey, et j'attends sa réponse dans quelques jours. Je ne manquerai pas de vous tenir au courant de ce qui se passe à ce sujet. Espoir! Nous pourrons encore réussir.

J'ai proposé à M. W d'agir ensemble afin que les MSS. dont je connais la valeur, soient mis à lumière au plus tôt possible.

Quant à l'incendie, j'ai un magazin me rapportant une rente assez considerable. Les flammes s'y approcherent de tout prés, mais on les arrêta en faisant sauter plusieurs batiments voisins. Les explosions casserent les fenêtres de mon magasin. Voilà tout. Je voudrais bien que tous mes amis fussent aussi heureux que moi.

Ma soeur est touchée, comme moi aussi de l'intérêt que vous témoignez à mon égard. Elle vous rémercie de vos aimables souvenirs.

Pardonnez les fautes de mon style. Je n'ai plus mon bon maitre de la Rue Mont Thabor pour me donner des leçons en Français. Très cordialement.

Tout à vous

J'ai vous envoyé deux journaux illustrés avec des gravures de l'incendie et de ses effêts. Bienque faites à la hâte et assez grossièrement, elles en donnent une juste idée. Je vous ai aussi envoyés "Pontiac" et "The Oregon Trail" par les mains de Sampson Low & Sons, London.

(Leaf 182) 50 Chestnut St. Boston. 3 Jan. 1873.

My Dear Friend,

Your letter of Dec. 14 came the day before yesterday. I have had farther interviews with Little & Brown, and they agree to take 500 copies of the book, *provided it is limited to four volumes,* and *provided that 250 subscribers can be got in advance.* This, with the help of Mr. Whittlesey, I hope to accomplish.

Meanwhile we are making an attempt to get it accepted by Congress but I have little hope of success. I have written to various persons in the government and have just finished a letter to the librarian of Congress. M. Whittlesey has had a circular printed for the same purpose.

The plan of subscription and publication by Little & Brown is better, and I hope you will approve it, and write to that effect to Mr. Whittlesey. The proposal is the same which you authorized me to make, except that there will be 4 volumes instead of 6.

I will myself subscribe for a considerable number.

I enclose a draft for 500 francs. If any more should be required, you can tell the exact figure after the work is done. I will then send the balance, should there be any.

Should there unhappily be danger to your documents, it would be far better to place them under the protection of the embassy than in private hands. I enclose a note to M. Washburne, which you can use whenever you think there is occasion.

You may remember that you promised me an extract from La Motte Cadillac on the Tartuffe affair.

I propose to have a circular printed for subscription as soon as I can engage the coöperation of Mr. Whittlesey in procuring names. When printed I will send you a copy (exemplaire).

Let me hear from you soon, & believe me with great esteem & regard.

Yours very cordially

My sister is at Montreal visiting her sister who is married to a clergyman there.

(Leaf 186) Boston, Jan. 17th 1873.

My dear friend,

The papers have come safely, but I have not yet had time to look them over. Your letter without date announcing them has also come.

I hope you have received my letter of about a week ago containing an order for 500 francs.

I shall be glad to have the lettres of Colbert in reply to the charges against Frontenac. Will you please have them copied at your leisure.

We are making great efforts to get an appropriation from Congress for the six volumes of documents. Mr. Whittlesey and I have engaged the coöperation of the principal Historical societies east and west. *The Massachusetts Society passed a unanimous vote last week* directing its officers to sign the petition to Congress. *Mr. Adams, late minister to England, supported the motion* at my request in a long speech in which he expressed his belief that the publication would be one of very great interest and value. The petition was sent yesterday, along with other papers. I have written to everybody at Washington whom I know, and have also engaged others to write in various parts of the country. *I think there is a fair chance of succeeding, though at first I had very little hope.* The answers I have received are all *favorable. Mr. Whittlesey is also active.* I have letters from him every few days.

If this attempt should not succeed there remains the plan of publishing four volumes by subscription through Little and Brown. You may be sure that no pains will be spared to bring about a good result.

I found in Canada, last year, a copy of a *mémoire* by Péronne Dumesnil concerning frauds and speculations in Canada in 1663. The mémoire itself seems to bear date about 1671. Can you tell me where the original is to be found? My impression is that it is in the archives of the Marine and Colonies. Some of the statements bear hard on the Jesuits.

You shall hear from me as soon as any new developments take place with respect to the publishing of your collection.

Very cordially yours

(Leaf 184) Boston 4 Jan. 1873.

Dear Sir:

I beg to introduce my friend M. Pierre Margry, custodian of the archives of the Marine & Colonies. He is well known to you already by reputation.

In the uncertainty of coming events, he wishes to provide for the safety of his invaluable collection of documents, should there be occasion.

He would be glad to consult with you on this matter; and if you can indicate to him any means, not involving inconvenience to yourself, by which his object may be accomplished, I, as well as he shall be greatly indebted to you.

With the highest respect

I have the honor to be

Yours very truly

(Leaf 188) Boston, Jan. 30th 1873.

My dear Friend,

I have just received a note from Mr. Monroe, member of Congress, who says:

"I have had the petitions in regard to M. Margry's manuscripts referred to the committee on the library. *The chairman of that committee informed me this morning that they had agreed to reccomend* an appropriation of 10,000 dollars. This amount, thus recommended, will next be brought before the House in some bill of the Committee on Appropriations, and I hope will in good time be approved by Congress."

Très cordialement

Votre Ami

(Leaf 191) Boston 4 Feb. 1873.

Mon cher ami,

All goes on well. The appropriation of $10,000 (50,000 francs) has passed both the preliminary stages, and will next come before the Houses of Congress for final decision.

The *prospect is favorable.* I spare no efforts to secure success. Yesterday I sent *11 letters to Washington, and 8 on the day before.* I have engaged coöperation in all parts of the country.

Yours very faithfully

P.S.—Mr. Fillmore of N. York, ex-president of the United States, has just promised his influence.

(Leaf 192) 50 Chestnut St. Boston, 5 Mar. 1873.

My Dear Friend,

I received your letter of 11 Feb. three days ago, and have waited in the hope of receiving conclusive news from Washington. But everybody is busied at present in the ceremonies of inaugurating the President in his new reign of four years. Judging from the newspapers I think that I can assure you that the bill granting $10,000 has been accepted by both Houses of Congress, c'est à dire que nous avons réussi. You shall hear definitely in a few days, cependant, n'hesitez pas à commencer le volume de lettres et de Mémoirs dont vous parlez.

The *memorial* which M. Whittlesey sent you was written and printed without my concurrence. Otherwise I should have changed it in many ways, and corrected its errors. I have written to explain that your proposal n'eut pas en vue que des livres ordinaires en 8 vo, et que vous avez fixé le prix de douze francs sur la base de volumes de 450 à 500 pages. Je ne crois pas qu 'il y aura de difficulté la-dessus.

Beaucoup d'hommes distingués se sont intérressés à notre projet. Le général-en-chef de l'Armée, Gén. Sherman, si fameux

dans la guerre de la rebellion, m'a écrit une longue lettre où il témoigne un vif intérêt à la publication de vos documents en promettant l'appui de son influence.

Je vous ai envoyé 500 francs pour les documents jusqu'en 1702. Vous dites qu'il n'y en a d'employés que 390. Alors il en reste 110 francs. J'ajoute aujourdhui un mandat de 500 francs sur M. M. Monroe et Cie. Cela fait 610 pour les 500 pages de la correspondance des ministres, qui est plus que suffisant. Vous pourrez employer le surplus à faire copier une partie des pièces suivantes, en ayant garde de ne pas excéder la somme de 110 francs

1=Les dépèches mémoires ou lettres de De Mesy *au sujet de Laval et des Jésuites* (s'il en a aux archives)

2=Les lettres de Courcelles (s'il y en a)

3=Les lettres du Roi et des ministres vers le temps du rappel de Frontenac, 1680-1685

Je voudrais bien voir les accusations faites par De Mesy. Elles existaient encore au temps de Charleroix, qui en parle.

Je vous remercie de l'extrait que vous m'avez envoyé, mais je l'avais déjà, l'ayant trouvé parmi les M. S. S. de Ferland, en Canada comme aussi le mémoire de Peronne Dumesnil et celui de Gaudais-Dupont. Selon la copie de Ferland la lettre dont il est question est écrite par *Colbert, le ministre,* à son parent Colbert de Terron, Intendant de la Marine. Ne vous étes vous pas trompé en l'attribuant à celui-ci?

M. Cailliére a numéroté les pages de ses copies trop à la hâte. J'y trouve plusieurs erreurs. Je vous prie de l'engager à y-mettre plus de soin. Quant aux copies, elles sont bien faites.

Voilà une lettre à votre gré, beau mélange de Français, de Yankee, et de toutes les langues sauvages.

Très cordialement

Tout à vous

50 Chestnut St. Boston 26 March 1873.*

My Dear Friend,

As I wrote you in my last letter, the two houses of Congress, on the recommendation of their committee, have appropriated $10,000 to the publication of your documents. The affair has been placed in the hands of the *Library Committee,* with whom you can communicate. I understand, however, that Congress dissolved without appointing that Committee for the present year. I do not know whether this will occasion delay or not. I have written letters of inquiry but have not yet received any answer. Mr. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, (Washington) is always on the Committee and has seemed interested in the matter from the beginning. I am daily expecting to hear from him. Meanwhile, it will be well for you to write to him.

Mr. Marshall of Buffalo, wrote me that he was going to Paris & hoped to see you.

The moment I get more definite news I will write again.

Very cordially yours

(Leaf 196) Boston ce 15 Avril 1873.

Mon cher Margry,

J'ai reçu vos deux lettres de 18 et de 24 Mars. J'ai eu soin d'expliquer a plusieurs reprises les vrais termes de vos propositions. J'ai dit à mes correspondants qu'il n'était point question d'acheter on de vendre vos manuscrits, mais tout simplement d'en faire l'impression à Paris et de vendre an gouvernement tel nombres d'exemplaires à tel prix. Je ne crois pas qu'il puisse exister aucune conception erronée à ce sujet. Ceux qui ont rédigé l'acte ont voulu, comme je le crois, le mettre dans une forme à ne pas exciter de question ni de discussion. J'ai essayé, et j'essayerai encore de prévenir tout malentendu de ce côté, et d'arranger l'affaire suivant vos intentions.

* Unfortunately, the copyist failed to note the leaf on which this letter appears.

Si j'avais pu la conduire tout seul, j'aurai pu éviter beaucoup de questions et d'embarras. Depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin il m'a fallu travailler sans cesse à empêcher ou à corriger les méprises de mes associés, qui, avec les meilleurs intentions du monde, n'ont pas, comme vous le dites, bien su ni la matière ni le langage. La note addressée, à mon insu, au *Senate and House of Representatives* m'a donné beaucoup de peine par ses fautes de toutes espèces. Après tout, le secours de ces messiurs n'était pas nécessaire, car l'un de nos plus respectables representants m'a dit l'autre jour que le congrès avait approuvé l'acte à cause seulement de l'assurance que j'avais donné de la valeur de vos manuscrits. Cependant, M. Whittlesey et les autres sont pleins de zèle. Il ne faut pas les rebuter, et ce que je viens de dire est dit entre nous.

L'affaire a été mise entre les mains du *Joint Committee on the Library*. La moitié de ce comité est choisie par le Sénat, et l'autre moitié par la *House of Representatives,* (corps législatif). La moitié appartenant au Sénat subsiste encore; mais, comme le terme de la *House* fut terminé par sa dissolution le mois passé, sa moitié du comité fut terminée en même temps. La nouvelle *House* choisira un autre demi-comité au mois de Decembre prochain, au commencement de sa première session. Alors il faut attendre jusqu'à ce temps la, à moins que le demi-comité du Sénat veuille accepter la responsibilité d'agir sans ses collègues. J'écrirai à M. Howe, sénateur et chef du comité, pour savoir ce qu'il veut faire là-dessus, et aussi pour lui expliquer vos intentions et la nature de vos propositions.

Il m'est tout à fait impossible de venir demeurer à Paris cette année. En restant ici, je serai plus prés de Washington ce qui peut être avantageux pour notre entreprise.

Je ne sais vous exprimer jusqu'à quel point je suis sensible à l'amitié et la confiance qui vous témoignez à mon égard. Si je m'intéresse à la publication de vos papiers ce n'est pas seulement à cause de mes propres récherches, mais aussi parceque ce serait un vrai plaisir pour moi de voir ce grand object de votre vie hereusement accompli.

Je vous conseille de voir M. Washburne. Quand il était à Washington, l'hiver passé, il a beaucoup fait pour nous. Il est intelligent et bon, et il témoigne le plus grand intérêt à votre projet. S'il savait que vous réconnaisez ce qu'il a fait, cela lui ferait plaisir; et, du reste, cela pourrait être très utile. Je lui ai écrit que vous ne voulez pas que M. H. ait aucune part à cette affaire.

Vous avez bien compris M. Marshall. C'est un excellent homme.

Quant aux copies de documents faites pour moi, vous pouvez les mettre entre les mains de M. M. Monroe & Cie, en leur donnant le billet ci-inclus.

Ma soeur vous remercie cordialement de vos aimables souvenirs. Adieu: je vous serre la main.

(Leaf 198) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 1 Mai, 1873.

Mon cher Margry,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 11 Avril, et au même moment le facteur me donna une lettre que j'avais long temps attendu de Mr. Spofford. Il m'écrit que Mr. Howe, chef du comité de la Bibliothèque, a dejà signé le contrat pour l'impression de vos manuscrits. L'affaire est mise entre les mains de Mr. Spofford, à qui j'ai écrit qu'il faut laisser à vous seul la selection des papiers et la rédaction de l'ouvrage, puisque vous connaisez la matière et les autres l'ignorent. Mr. S. parait s'être rendu à mes raisons. Dans les publications d'une certaine importance, il y a toujours chez nous un contrat entre les deux parties, pour empêcher tout malentendu. J'ai signé un contrat avec Little & Brown pour chacun de mes livres.

J'ai expliqué à Mr. S. vos intentions à l'égard de la grandeur des volumes. S'il desire qu'ils soient plus grands vous n'y ferez sans doute aucune objection, pourvu que le prix y soit proportioné. On demande, suivant la contume en de pareils cas, une liste ou inventaire de ce que vous proposez d'imprimer dans les 6

volumes. Je crois que vous trouverez cette condition toute naturelle, comme elle l'est en effet. Vous pouvez faire l'inventaire de manière à y supprimer tout ce qui pourrait effaroucher les *robes noires,* comme aussi tout ce qui pourrait être compremettant en aucune manière. Du reste, si vous me le conseillez, je prierai Mr. S. de ne pas divulger ni l'inventaire *ni les épreuves** jusqu'à ce que chaque volume soit publié. Je ne connais pas Mr. S. personnellement; mais on me dit que c'est un homme de bien. Il m'a invité de dire librement mon avis, et de concert avec vous, je n'y manquerai pas. Si vous avez besoin de quelque explication quant à la signification du contrat (écrit sans doute en Anglais) vous pourrez consulter mon ami Dr. Thomas Curtis à qui vous pourrez parler en tout sureté.

Mr. S. espére que l'ouvrage sera commencé tout de suite et poursuivi sans relâche jusqu'à la fin. Aussitôt que chaque volume sera mis entre les mains de l'agent du gouvernement, vous en recevrez l'argent.

Nous avons bien commencé; il faut continuer hardiment en dépit des difficultés et des désagréments. La difference de langues et de coutumes pourrait faire naître quelque embarras. En ce cas, rapportez-vous-en à moi; je ferai de mon mieux pour y porter remède. Vous aurez déja peut-être reçu une lettre de Washington. Repondez-y franchement et sans façons, et d'une main nette et claire, pour empêcher toute méprise.

Je viens de faire mettre vos "Navigations Françaises" dans une reliure de luxe.

Ma soeur me prie de vous saluer de sa part.

Croyez-moi toujours

Votre tout-dévoué

L'entreprenante vanité de la societé de Wisconsin, poussée continuellement de l'ambition de s'afficher partout, pourrait bien expliquer le ridicule extrait que vous m'avez envoyé.

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* "Il doit les attendre," is added in pencil in a different hand, probably Margry's.

(Leaf 200)

F. PARKMAN TO DR. SPOFFORD*

Dear Sir,

I enclose a letter from M. Margry, which he requests me to forward to you. By a letter to me which accompanies it, I find that he is busy in arranging his papers and causing them to be copied for the press. He is full of zeal and is ready to begin the work; but he is greatly surprised at not receiving the official communication which he was led to expect. He asks me for explanations, which I am totally unable to give, being no better informed than he. I understood from your last letter that Mr. Howe had signed the contract and was about to send it to Paris; and I so advised M. Margry.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will acquaint me with the cause of the delay that I may send information to M. Margry.

Very truly yours

(Leaf 203) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 4 July 1873.

Mon cher Monsieur Margry,

J'ai reçu hier votre lettre du 17 Juin. J'avais déjà reçu celle du —(sans date). Je suis étonné qu'on ne vous ait pas envoyé aucun avis officiel. Je ne sais pas expliquer un tel retard après les assurances positives que j'ai reçus de M. Spofford. Je lui ai écrit pour demander quelque explication, et j'attends sa réponse de jour en jour.

Quant à M. H. je n'y puis rien comprendre. Je n'ai pas entendu de ses nouvelles, et je ne sais rien de ses intentions. Comme je suis parfaitement ignorant de ce qui s'est passé lors de la première tentative auprès du Congrès il y a deux ou trois ans, je ne suis pas à même de former une opinion quant à ce qu'on doit

* At the beginning of this letter, which is without date, appears the following, in Parkman's handwriting: "Envoyée à M. Spofford avec votre lettre du 2 Juin addressée à lui."

attendre de ce coté. M. Spofford me donnera sans doute des éclaircissements, et je vous en ferai part aussitôt que je les aurai reçus.

Les documents sont arrivés il y a quelques jours, mais je n'ai pas encore trouvé loisir de les parcourir. Acceptez cependant mes remerciements.

Vous me priez de faire un contrat avec L. B. & Cie pour un volume des lettres etc. de La Salle. Il serait impossible de le faire sans publicité parceque ces Messieurs comme je le vous ai écrit, demandent une souscription de 250 exemplaires avant de rien entreprendre. Si cela se pouvait faire sans bruit, il serait, tout de même, trés compromettant pour moi de faire publier par un libraire des documents que j'avais offert, de concert avec vous, au gouvernement, et dont le gouvernement avait agréé la publication; outre que personne ne voudrait souscrire pour un ouvrage qu'on attend déjà de la presse du congrès.

Mais, avant tout, ne perdez pas de courage. Méprisez la compagnie et marchez en avant en dépit de tout autre.

Croyez moi toujours

tout à vous

Ma soeur est parti pour la mer depuis huit jours.

Boston 1, Aug. 1873.

My Dear Margry,

Though my correspondence has been interrupted by ill health from which I am still suffering, I have twice written to you since the first of June, and I hope that my letters have at length reached you. I hope, also that the contract has come to your hands, after the long and annoying delay.

Your letter of July 16th reached me yesterday. I wished you had explained to me the nature of the intervention which you feared on the part of Harrisse. I should then have been able to write with more precision to Mr. Spofford. As it was, I could only say to him that the appointment of H. to any supervision of

the press or any other function connected with the publication of your papers would be disagreeable to you and inexpedient. I hope that this has proved sufficient. Mr. Marshall's letter, which I received two days ago, gave me a clearer idea than I had before had of what H. was likely to attempt. I immediately wrote again to Mr. Spofford, explaining the necessity of preventing all intervention from that quarter.

With regard to the amount of the appropriation, I would gladly have made it $20,000 instead of $10,000 but it was absolutely out of my power to make it a single dollar larger than it is. The amount was determined at Washington, and I thought it very fortunate that any money at all was granted.

I write in English because, in the present state of my health, it is easier than to write in French. I wish you could see the MSS. you sent me, bound in 8 volumes; it is a superb collection.

I shall convey your obliging message to my sister, who is still at the seaside. She asks the news from you with interest, and is gratified by your kind remembrance. I would give a great deal for an hour's conversation with you. Words from the lips are better than words from the pen.

Very faithfully and truly yours

(Leaf 207).. Boston, 31 Aout 1873.

Mon cher Margry,

Je revins avant hier d'un petit voyage au Canada ou j'ai passé deux on trois semaines parmi les habitants du bas Saint Laurent qui conservent mieux que les autres leurs anciens moeurs. A mon retour j'ai trouvé votre lettre de—(sans date).

Je n'ai jamais vu le contrat, et l'on ne m'a point consulté là-dessus. M. Spofford, à ce que l'on dit, est un très-honnête homme, enthusiaste pour les livres. À en juger par ses lettres, il a les meilleures dispositions à l'égard de la publication de vos papiers, mais il n'est pas libre. Il ne faut pas donner prise à la malveillance des politiques et des rivaux. Il lui a fallu faire un contrat à

ne pas inviter des reclamations. Dans une position privée on peut agir à son gré, mais il est dans une position de responsibilité officielle. Il a fait de son mieux, j'en suis sûr. Voici, ci-inclus, une lettre qu'il m'a écrite et que j'ai trouvée avec la vôtre à mon retour. Vous y verrez que la crainte de quelque intrigue de la part de H. est absolument sans fondement. Mr. S. dit que depuis deux ans il a compris la necessité de ne pas permettre à H. de prendre aucune part dans la publication.

Ma soeur est, enfin, de retour de la mer. Elle vous remercie cordialement de vos bons souvenirs.

Tout à vous

(Leaf 208) . 50 Chestnut St. Boston, U. S. A. (No date)

My Dear Monsieur Margry,

At length I find an opportunity to break my long and unwilling silence. My cousin, Mr. Francis Brooks, is on the point of going to France to direct the distribution of a shipload of provisions sent from Boston for the relief of those whom the war has made destitute. If he visits Paris he will hand you this note. If not, it will probably reach you through the hands of my friend Mr. Eduard Dwight, who is joined with him in the same charge.

I trust with all my heart that it will find you in health. When I received the document which you so kindly sent me through Mr. Curtis, I was suffering from a disabling condition of ill health, from which I did not recover for some months, when the war came, and communication was cut off. I hope you will accept this as an excuse for my apparent ingratitude.

Everybody here is full of sympathy for the famine and suffering caused by the deplorable calamity that has fallen upon France. $70,000 (350,000 fcs.) was the amount subscribed here for provisions, up to yesterday, and the subscription still goes on rapidly. When this is closed, a second movement is to be begun. This is of course independent of similar movements in New York and elsewhere. Trivial as such aid must be when compared to

the ravages of this terrible war, it shows at least that Americans do not forget their debt of gratitude to France for the help she gave them in the War of Independence.

I hear that the villa of my kind friend, Count Circourt, at La belle St. Cloud, is destroyed. What other changes I shall see when I again come to Paris heaven only knows. I hope, at least, that you may be exempted from them. A day or two since, I received M. Gravier's book, but have not yet read it. On looking it over, I do not see anything new. Hoping that this will reach you and that you will send me good news of yourself soon.

Very truly yours.

(Leaf 210) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 27 Oct. 1873.

Mon cher ami,

Enfin nous avons de quoi vous féliciter. La galère commence à voguer. Votre dernière lettre (sans date, suivant votre blâmable habitude) m'a réjoui de coeur. Je vous crie grâce de vos taquineries; vous m'en avez fait de belles. N'importe; soyez gai et gaillard; riez, plaisantez; quand vos papiers seront publiés nous aurons tous deux de quoi nous réjouir ensemble. Cependant, écoutez le Cerf Agile qui vous parle du fond de ses forêts. Courage dit il; par ce collier de porcelaine je chasse de la rivière les canots enemis qui pouvaient troubler la navigation; je donne une grande bonace [?] au lac qu'il faut traverser; j'appaise les vents et je tempère la colère des chutes et des bouillons d'eau; je dissipe les nuages, afin qu'on voie partout; je vous nettoie les oreilles pour vous faire entendre la voix de ma sagesse; je vous donne de bon tabac des Yankees pour vous chasser de la cervelle toute pensée de découragement; et je rends le chemin uni pour vous faire courir hereusement au terme de votre grande entreprise.

Ainsi soit-il, M. Spofford a reçu votre liste. Il semble en être content. Il le faut bien, car c'est l'inventaire d'un trésor excessivement riche, comme je lui ai écrit. Il a demandé mon avis

touchant vos cartes, et je lui ai repondu qu'elles sont de la plus haute importance, et qu'il faut trouver les moyens de les publier avec les documents.

Je comprends maintenant ce que je n'ais pas compris jusqu'à présent, pourquoi vous croyiez avoir sujet être alarmè du coté de H. Mais tout cela est fini. M. Curtis, qui est de retour de Paris, me dit que M. Washburne n'est pas content de ce monsieur, parcequ'il a tenu, pendant le guerre du Sud, plusieurs discours peu patriotiques. M. Curtis ajoute que bienque M. W. ne rompe pas avec H. il ne l'aime pas du tout. Ceci est entre nous. M. C. parle avec interêt de vous et de votre entreprise.

Il y a assurément quelque malentendu au sujet du manuscrit de Peneceivt(?); j'ai cru en effêt le devoir à la bienveillance de Mr. Reade. Je suis mortifié d'avoir paru manquer de reconaissance et de courtoisie. J'écrirai sur le champ à M. Balch pour lui rendre mon devoir et demander des éclaircissements. Je ne sais pas son addresse mais j'espère la trouver.

N'oubliez pas, je vous prie, votre promesse de m'envoyer des épreuves, car je vois bien qu'il faudra travailler de nouveau à mon La Salle.

Quand j'étais à Paris vous m'avez demandé une de ces photographies dont je vous ai parlé, prises à Quebec sur une ancienne gravure dite de Frontenac. La voici ci-incluse. Je l'ai trouvé à Quebec l'été passé. Le photographe qui l'a faite est mort, et son successeur n'en sait rien. Si vous trouvez la gravure qui doit être dans quelque collection à Paris, et dont l'inscription pourrait bien fournir quelque lumière, j'en serais fort aise. Je ne puis pas m'empêcher de croire que c'est en effêt le portrait de Frontenac fait après sa mort: mais par qui? Quel artiste y avait il alors en Canada? Moi, je ne sais. Cependant, l'intelligence, la fermeté l'orgeuil, l'empreinte altière et fine de sa haute naissance y sont marqués tous.

Mon travail avance, mais pas trop vite. J'ai lu avec beaucoup d'attention la magnifique collection que vous avez fait copier pour moi. J'y trouve de quoi faire un tableau très curieux de la vie Canadienne, et je ferai de mon mieux de m'en servir dignement.

Un de mes amis, juge-en-chef de l'état de Massachusetts, m'a demandé si on peut trouver à Paris des portraits anciens, peints ou gravés, des grands hommes de robe du temps passé, les Harlay, les le Tellier, les Lumviquor,(?) etc. Si par hazard vous connaisez de tels portraits qui sont à vendre voulez me faire la bonté de m'en communiquer les noms, la qualité, et les prix.

Ma soeur est bien aise d'entendre de bonnes nouvelles de votre entreprise, et elle vous remercie cordialement de votre courtoisie.

Adieu, mon ami, je vous serre la main

(Leaf 212) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 5 Dec. 1873.

Mon cher ami,

Je suis autant surpris que vous de la longue silence de M. Spofford qui par courtoisie comme par devoir a du vous répondre sur le champ. Voici ci-adjointe la lettre que je lui ai écrite hier. Aussitôt que j'aurai reçu sa réponse je vous en ferai part.

Je vous conseille encore de vous tenir en rapport avec M. Washburn, car son bon vouloir pourrait être de la plus haute importance. M. Adams, feu ministre à Londres, dont le nom est le synonym de l'honneur et de la sincèrité et dont la femme est ma prôche parente, m'assure que M. W. désire beaucoup la réussite de votre publication et qu'il l'aidera de tout son pouvoir. Dans ma lettre, comme vous le verrez, j'ai appuyé sur le point que j'ai cru le plus essentiel, c'est à dire la nécessité de vous laisser libre de faire choix des documents. Je vous écrirai bientôt plus au long. En attendant, je suis, avec la plus sincère amitié votre tout dévoué.

50 Chestnut St. Boston 4 Dec. 1873.

F. PARKMAN TO M. SPOFFORD

Mr. A. R. Spofford
Librarian of Congress.

Dear Sir:

I have just received a long letter from M. Margry who is much surprised at not hearing from you. He has completed the copying of 3 vols, of his MSS. for the press, and says that he is prepared to furnish a printed vol. every 6 months; but he is at a loss to understand your long silence. I hope you will write to him, and remove the doubts which it naturally excites.

The list of documents he sent is a very remarkable one, but nobody can appreciate it, or judge the relative value of the different pieces unless he has seen it, and has, besides, given a great deal of attention to the special subject. Mr. Marshall of Buffalo and myself are the only persons in America in a position to judge of the collection without going to France and spending a long time in studying it. My own opinion of its value is so great since seeing it 4 or 5 years ago, that I went to Paris last year prepared to offer M. Margry 5,000 francs for permission to use the first 3 vols. as historical material, printing nothing besides a few short extracts, and returning the volumes to him when I had mastered the information they contained. But I soon discovered that such an offer would not be accepted, M. Margry naturally wishing to be himself the means of acquainting the public with their contents.

Any attempt to make changes in his list, even by gentlemen of the highest intelligence & general information, would be sure to abridge its value by the mistakes which would infallibly be made. I would rather take the risk of the publication myself than have the collection subjected to such curtailment.

I beg you will excuse suggestions wh. may seem intrusive; but my strong desire for the success of this publication, so important for our history, will serve as my plea.

I shall be obliged by a line from you telling me how the matter stands.

Yours very truly

(Leaf 214) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 8 Dec. 1873.

Mon cher ami,

Voici ci-incluse la réponse de M. Spofford, que j'ai reçue il y a une heure. Il dit qu'il a attendu l'ouverture du congrès pour conférer avec le comité de la bibliothèque afin d'avoir plus d'autorité; ayant reconnu qu'il y aura besoin d'une augmentation du nombre de pages, comme aussi de la publication de cartes et de portraits; ce qui ne peut se faire sans plus de dépense. Il m'assure que toute votre liste sera approuvée, et que à l'avenir, il n'y aura pas de délai.

Je reste d'accord de ce que vous dites à l'égard des cartes. Ce serait assurément une faute de les mettre dans les volumes. Il faut les rassembler dans un atlas, et je tâcherai de faire valoir vos raisons auprès de M. Spofford.

J'espère que vous aurez reçu ma lettre du dimanche passé. Du moment qu'il y aura encore quelque chose à vous communiquer, je ne manquerai pas de vous écrire.

Très cordialement

Votre tout devoué

(Leaf 215) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 20 Jan. '74.

Mon cher ami,

Vos deux dernières lettres se sont suivies de près. J'ai reçu l'une et l'autre depuis quelques jours; et j'espère que de votre part, vous aurez enfin reçu quelque chose de la main de M. S. dont le silence prolongé ne [donne] pas une haute idée de sa courtoisie.

Pour moi j'ai sur les bras des affaires qui m'empêchent absolument de m'expatrier cette année, si grande que soit la tentation; et j'avoue que cette chambre que vous m'offrez, ces conversations, ces études, ces mille agréments de la vie Parisienne, sont pour moi un appas auquel j'ai peine à resister. Mais il faut céder à la nécessité; d'autant plus que, si je ne me trompe pas, il serait diffi-

cile de ne faire donner au gouvernement les pleins pouvoirs qui seraient nécessaires pour rendre un tel changement de demeure d'aucune utilité.

Je crois encore que vous avez tort de ne pas visiter M. Washburn. Il pourrait, plus que personne, appliquer l'éperon à ces Messieurs de Washington, qui, du reste, ont trop de besoin d'être piqués par derrière pour marcher vite. Il ne parle pas bien le Français, mais son secrétaire, le Colonel Hoffman, le parle avec facilité et se ferait un plaisir de servir d'interprête.

Ma soeur est partie pour visiter sa soeur aînée qui demeure à Montreal, Canadienne d'adoption, car elle est mariée à un ministre protestant de cette ville. Elle, ma soeur cadette, m'a lu votre dernière lettre avant de partir, et elle est également sensible à votre politesse et fachée des étrangeš contrariétés que vous avez éprouvées.

En lisant les pièces sur le Canada dans les Instructions, Lettres, etc. de Colbert, publiés par le gouvernement français, je trouve un erreur de date (vol. III, 2me parti p. 443). L'instruction, pour le Sieur(?). Gaudais est datée à tort 1 Mai *1669*. Cette pièce est mot pour mot, identique avec l'instruction pour Gaudais de 1 Mai *1663*. Gaudais, d'ailleurs, n'est jamais retourné en Canada où Colbert ne fut pas trop content de lui pendant son court séjour de 1663.

J'ai écrit 18 chapitres de mon prochain volume. Je le publierai peut-être séparément, sous le titre de l'Ancien Régime en Canada, car il est occupé principalement du gouvernement, des moeurs, etc. Croyez moi toujours

Votre tout dévoué,

A. R SPOFFORD TO F. PARKMAN

(Leaf 217) Library of Congress Washington Dec. 6th 1873.

Dr. Sir:

In reply to your communication of 4th I have to advise you that I thought it very important for me to have full authority in making some more liberal modifications of the contract of publication with M. Margry, notably as to number of pages, and the insertion of maps & portraits at an added expense. So I had to wait the opportunity of personal conference with the Committee on the Library, who alone have full legal power in the premises. Be assured that all M. Margry's schedule will be approved, and that he will not be hampered by further delays, now that our scattered Congress has again convened.

Very respectfully,

A. R. SPOFFORD,
Librarian of Congress.

(Leaf 218) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 28 Avril, 1874.

Mon cher Margry,

Enfin j'ai reçu les nouvelles. Vous n'êtes par mort; votre santé est assez bonne; votre amitié subsiste encore; de cela je ne suis pas ingrat, mais je suis rempli d'étonnement et d'indignation du silence inexplicable de Mr. Spofford. Je me hâte d'écrire à deux membres du Congrés, que je connais pour hommes de bien, pour les prier de demander les raisons d'un tel délai. S'il n'est pas un manque de foi il est au moins un manque de courtoisie. M. Spofford m'a promis il y a deux mois de vous écrire sur le champ. Aussitôt que je recevrai une reponse de M. M. Hoar et Garfield, les deux membres dont j'ai parlé, je vous écrirai ce qu'ils m'auront communiqué

Avec une amitié sincère

Votre tout dévoué

(Leaf 220) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 16 May 1874.

Mon cher Margry,

M. Spofford m'écrit "I have your letter enclosing the letter of M. Margry, which is written in an admirable spirit. I have replied to it by this post (May 4). We shall take the 20 or more lithographed maps and probably a few original portraits, which will be the subject of farther correspondence. The last long delay has been caused by the committee in action which is now at an end. I trust the publication will go forward without interruption to the end."

Espoir! Nous pourrons encore arriver au terme de votre longue voyage.

J'ai besoin d'une collection complète de tous les documents relatifs à la guerre de 1755 (excepté ceux qui ont été publiés par Brodhead). Pourriez vous m'y aider? Comme vous avez fait une liste de documents depuis 1731 jusqu'à 1763 pour le gouvernement Canadien, dont vous gardez sans doute une duplicate, il ne serait pas difficile pour vous de me donner approximationement une idée de l'étendue d'une telle collection, et de sa dépense.

Votre ami dévoué

(Leaf 222) Boston, 1 Aout, 1874.

Mon cher Margry,

Me voici de retour d'un voyage en Canada, ce qui explique *ma longue* silence. Les Canadiens attendent avec impatience les nouvelles de votre entreprise; cependant ils sont un peu émus parceque un gouvernement étranger parait les avoir devancé encore un fois en fait de leur propre histoire. J'espére que leur chagrin ne sera par sans cause. Au reste, ils m'ont reçu avec une bienveillance empressée qui peut-être ne survivra pas à la publication de mon prochain volume. Il va paraître en Septembre et je vous enverrai le premier exemplaire. Vous y trouverez de quoi vous amuser.

Le plan de mon ouvrage sur la guerre de 1755-63 n'est pas encore arrêté, mais en vue des dangers qui menacent toujours les monuments historiques dans ce beau volcan qu'on appelle Paris, je voudrais bien avoir entre les mains la partie la plus essentielle des documents qui regardent ces événements. J'essayerai peut-être d'écrire l'histoire de la guerre depuis son commencement jusqu'à sa fin ; peut-être je me bornerai à la période comprise entre l'arrivée de Montcalm et sa mort faisant du grand marquis la figure centrale de la pièce, et groupant les événements autour de lui. Ce plan est le plus simple et le plus dramatique, mais il demande des renseignements les plus étendues et les plus intimes sur les années dont il est question. J'ai déjà la correspondance de Montcalm avec sa mère et sa femme. J'ai aussi fait copier, par l'entremise de M. Curtis, les papiers qui se trouvent aux Archives Nationales, mais, à l'exception de ceux copiés pour Brodhead, je n'ai pas les documents du Ministère *de la Marine, du Ministère de la Guerre, de la Bib. Nationale, ni des Archives de Versailles.* Peut-être il y en a encore d'autres que je ne connais pas. Vous n'êtes, je le sais bien, que trop occupé déjà. Je ne suis pas pressé; avant tout je ne veux par vous embarrasser, *comblé* que vous êtes de besogne. Prenez donc assez de temps. Votre liste vous rendra l'affaire beaucoup plus facile, et si vous voulez me faire un collection complète des documents concernant le Canada entre Janvier 1756 et Janvier 1760, je vous en saurai gré. Cette collection bien entendu ne doit pas comprendre les papiers dans Brodhead, ni ceux des Archives Nationales. Veuillez m'écrire si vous voulez entreprendre ce travail, et m'informer quel en sera le prix par page. J'ai payé 50 centimes aux Archives Nat. Je réglerai mes comptes de manière à vous faire venir les fonds sans retardement.

Ma soeur demande toujours les nouvelles de votre sauté et de votre entreprise. Elle a beaucoup ri en se rappelant votre méchanceté à l'égard de mes jambes quand je montais l'escalier de l'hôtel de l'Amirauté.

Tout à vous

(Leaf 224) Boston 26 Sept. 1874.

Mon cher ami,

Je crie pecavi, tant en fait de grammaire que d'amitié. Quant à la première, je ne dis rien pour ma défense; quant à l'autre, voici mes raisons. Il y a quelques semaines que mon livre reste en attente, toujours prèt à paraître, toujours empêché par quelque nouveau contretemps. J'ai voulu annoncer dans ma lettre l'envoi de ce volume par la poste. Ainsi j'ai differé d'écrire de jour en jour. Enfin l'Ancien Régime "est parti." Je l'ai mis à la poste hier, bien qu'il ne soit pas encore publié. C'est un avant-courier des autres exemplaires que j'envoyerai plus tard à des amis et correspondants en France et en Angleterre.

Je n'ai rien à réclamer en fait du prix des copies dont vous parlez dans votre lettre du 10 Sept. que j'ai reçu il y a deux ou trois jours. Je les payerai à 1 franc le page complet, bien entendu que la collection contiendra tous les documents de la période que j'ai marquée (Jan. 1756-Jan 1760) à *l'exception de ceux de Brodhead et de* Dussieux. Les lettres etc. de Montcalm, dont vous avez déjà fait une collection, y seront comprise, le tout arrangé par ordre de dates.

A fin et mesure que les copies seront faites et vérifiées, vous pourrez les livrer à M. M Munroe et Cie 7 Rue Scribe, à qui je remettrai par le courier de ce jour des fonds pour les payer sur le champ.

Je suis bien aise de savoir que votre travail avance. Les épreuves que vous avez eu l'obligéance de m'offrir pourraient être envoyées à mes frais par la poste, addressées aux soins de M. M. Little Brown & Co. 110 Washington Street Boston.

Je suis avec mes deux filles à une petite maison que j'ai au bord d'un petit lac près Boston. Ma soeur est allée avec une famille de ses amis faire untour aux Montagnes Blancs de New Hampshire. C'est une saison magnifique que notre automne, et elle va voir des paysages à réjouir le Misanthrope de Molière.

En vous serrant cordialement la main

Tout à vous

(Leaf 226) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 23 Dec. 1874.

Mon cher ami,

Je viens de reçevoir le 2me envoi de manuscrits. J'ai le premier entre les mains depuis quelques semaines. J'ai parcouru les papiers, mais je n'ai pas encore eu le temps de les lire. Ils semblent être d'une grande valeur pour mon sujet.

Je vous remercie de ceux qui ne sont pas compris dans les comptes. Je suis bien aise de posséder le journal de Bougainville et je ne manquerai pas de me conformer à vos intentions à son égard.

Ce matin j'ai fait un second envoi d'argent à M. M. Munroe & Cie, de sorte que le copiste pourra toucher promptement le prix de ses travaux. Aussitôt que vous aurez determiné approximativement à quelle somme les copies pourront monter vous me ferez plaisir de m'en avertir.

Il me tarde d'entendre de vos nouvelles. Les manuscrits sont pour moi une assurance que vous êtes encore en vie; mais cela n'est pas satisfaisant.

Ma soeur et moi nous vous souhaitons la bonne année.

Tout à vous

(Leaf 228) 50 Chestnut St. Boston U. S. A. 23 Feb. 1875.

Mon cher ami,

Votre lettre *sans date* arriva avant-hier, et la dernière livraison de documents la suivit de près. Ils sont d'un haut intérêt, et notament le mémoire de Montcalm, tiré de votre collection personelle. L'éloge qui l'accompagne a été imprimé, en partie et avec beaucoup de variantes à Quebec, en 1855. C'est un brochure très rare, dont le texte, selon le rédacteur, est la reproduction d'un article du Mercure Français de 1760. Je ne regrette pas la possession d'une copie plus complète, et, je crois, plus authentique.

Dans ma dernière lettre je vous ai demandé des copies des documents de 1760 et 1761. Il semble que je ne me sois pas

exprimé assez clairement. Je vois bien que mon sujet ne doit pas se borner à la vie et aux services d'un seul homme, quelque soit son eminence. Veuillez donc continuer les copies jusqu'à la fin des événements importants de la guerre. Je voudrais bien posséder aussi les papiers qui sont nécessaires à l'éclaircissement de son origine et de ses premières années. Brodhead en a imprimé beaucoup, mais il en reste sans doute un nombre considérable. Je m'en rapporte à vous pour les choisir et les faire copier, comme ceux que vous m'avez déjà envoyés. Le gros de cette partie de la collection sera compris dans les années 1754, et '55, mais il y aura peut-être quelques papiers de date antérieure, utiles pour éclaircir les rivalités qui ont preparé la guerre. Faites copier, s'il vous plait, d'une main claire, et avec de l'encre bien noire. Ne vous pressez pas, je vous prie: ménagez votre force et vos yeux, car j'ai déjà assez de papiers pour m'occuper pendant plusieurs mois. Cependant si vous préférez en finir sans délai, il y aura toujours chez Munroe et Cie. de quoi entretenir le copiste.

On me dit que deux Canadiens distingués se sont alliés pour écrire une réponse foudroyante à mon "Ancien Régime." J'attends leur attaque en toute tranquilité. Je me suis si bien fortifié par des preuves inébranlables que je ne crains pas qu'ils puissent forcer mes lignes.

Vous ne dites rien sur votre santé ni sur votre entreprise. J'ai reçu au mois de Decembre, un trés court billet de M. Harrisse, pour me remercier de mon livre, que je l'avais envoyé, et pour me demander si la publication de vos documents est fondée sur l'action du Congrès de 1871, '2. Je lui ai répondu qu'au contraire, le Congrès de 1871, '2 a refusé absolument de faire la moindre chose là-dessus, et que la vote qui autorise la publication est d'un Congrès subséquent, agissant sous l'influence de personnes tout-à-fait differentes. Il ne m'a rien écrit depuis.

Ma soeur me charge de vous témoigner sa réconnaissance de vos obligéants souvenirs, et de vous présenter ses meilleurs souhaits.

Tout à vous

(Leaf 230) 50 Chestnut St. (pas 52) Boston 28 Avril 1875.

Mon cher ami,

Je reçus hier soir avis de l'arrivée du paquet de documents annoncé par votre lettre du 10me. Je vais ce matin le chercher chez les agents de M. M. Munroe.

J'ai mis entre leurs mains il y a trois jours environ 1500 francs pour la continuation des copies, et pour payer la balance de compte qui vous est due, votre dernier envoi étant plus fort que les autres.

Vous dites que ma dernière lettre s'est ——* voyée. En voici la partie la plus essentielle:

"Veuillez continuer les copies jusqu'à la conclusion des événements importants de la guerre. Je voudrais bien posséder aussi les papiers qui sont nécessaires à l'éclaircissement de ses origines, et de ses premières années. Brodhead et Dussieux en ont imprimé beaucoup mais il en reste sans doute un nombre considérable. Je m'en rapporte à vous pour les choisir et les faire copier, comme ceux que vous m'avez déjà envoyés. Le gros de cette partie de la collection sera sans doute compris dans les années 1754 et 1755, mais il y aura peut-être quelques papiers de date antérieure, utiles pour éclaircir les rivalités qui ont préparé la guerre."

J'ai déjà tous les papiers (imprimés par le gouvernement Français sous le titre de *Précis des Faits,* avec pièces justificatives) qui ont été pris à la défaite du General Braddock.

En écrivant l'histoire de la guerre de 1755-60, j'appuyerai sur les opérations de terre, et celles de la marine seront tout à fait subordonnées.

30 Avril. Votre dernier paquet est arrivé hier, et j'ai parcouru les papiers ce matin. Le journal de Washington a été imprimé en Anglais. Les lettres de Gucourt sont extrêmement intéressantes. Je fais grand cas de papiers de cette sorte, car ils font voir l'homme tel qu'il était, et en les lisant, on assiste, pour ainsi dire, aux événements qu'ils décrivent. Je vous prie de faire toujours numéroter les pages, car, cette fois comme auparavant,

* Illegible.

je l'ai trouvé difficile de voir avec certitude les rapports entre les diverses feuilles ou mains de papier. Souvent on a mis les numéros, mais presque aussi souvent il n'y en a pas. Il n'est pas nécessaire de numéroter tous les documents de suite, mais seulement les pages de chaques collection ou cahier de pièces, en séparant ces collections, comme vous l'avez fait, par des enveloppes de papier.

Dans le 4*me* paquet, il y a une lettre (coll. Moreau St. Méry) datée Montreal 15 Sept. 1757, dont les dernières pages manquent. Il y a aussi dans ce même paquet, 4 lignes seulement d'une lettre de Montcalm du 23 Sept. 1758, suivies immédiatement d'un mémoire de Folique dont le commencement manque. Je n'ai pu trouver de quoi remplir la lacune. Vous voyez à quel point les copistes ont besoin d'être controlés.

J'entend parler d'un nouveau livre intitulé *Montcalm et le Canada, par Felix Jonbleau* (8*vo* Paris, Laporte, 1874). Je serais bien aise si vous pouviez m'en trouver un exemplaire, en ajoutant le prix à celui des copies de MSS.

Je viens d'écrire à M. Spofford sur les matières dont vous parlez. Je m'étonne de son silence peu courtois.

Ma soeur comme moi, entend avec beaucoup de regret que vous êtes encore souffrant. Croyez moi, vous ne pourriez pas mieux employer un peu de temps et un peu d'argent qu'en faisant un petit voyage pour vous distraire.

Je suis toujours tout à vous

50 Chestnut St. Boston 7 Mai 1875.

Mon cher ami,

Vous aurez reçu, j'espère, la lettre que je vous ai écrite il y a huit jours, pour vous prier de continuer les copies de papiers sur la guerre de 1755, et pour vous donner avis de l'envoi d'argent à M. M. Munroe.

Vous dites que vous serez ménager de mes intérêts tant du coté de l'histoire que de celui de ma bourse. C'est ce que je n'ai

jamais douté et je me fie avec une entière confiance à votre savoir et à votre amitié. Si vous n'êtes pas sûr si ou non je possède tel ou tel document, vous pourrez m'en communiquer le titre, et je vous enverrai la réponse immédiatement.

Quant à la publication de vos papiers, je vous prie de marcher en avant sans trop regarder des choses qui ne sont pas essentielles. J'ai reçu aujourdhui le billet de M. Spofford, ci-inclus. Notre excellent ami M. Marshall m'a écrit aussi. Il m'envoie une lettre du sous-bibliothécaire du Congrès, M. Hickcox, qui dit que vous avez pleine autorité d'imprimer, qu'on attend des épreuves depuis 3 mois, et qu'on ne sait pas comment expliquer votre silence. Croyez-moi, mon ami, c'est pour votre gloire et votre intérêt, comme pour celui de l'histoire, d'avoir un peu de confiance dans des gens dont les intentions sont loyales, bien que leurs façons de faire puissent laisser quelque chose à desirer en fait de politesse, Du reste, un retard prolongé pourrait faire echouer l'affaire et gravement compromettre un ami qui a si fortement recommandé au Congrés la publication de votre collection.

Ma soeur vous remercie cordialement de vos aimables souvenirs.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 234) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 30 Mai 1875.*

Mon cher Margry,

Votre lettre du 3me Mai est arrivée il y a quelques jours. Après ma dernière lettre je n'ai rien à ajouter touchant les copies. Vous comprenez assez bien la partie de mes recherches. Vous savez ce qu'il y a d'argent entre les mains de M. M. Munroe, et je vous prie de m'avertir aussitôt que vous serez à même de le faire, combien il faut encore envoyer. Cela empêchera les délais et les inconvénients de part et d'autre.

* The draft of this letter in Parkman's handwriting is in the Margry letters, Parkman Papers, Mass. Histl. Soc., with Margry's letter of May 3, 1875.

Je ne suis pas de l'avis de M. Da Corta. Les cartes dont il parle sont trop nombreuses, trop détaillées, et trop compliquées. Du reste, une application au Bureau des Ingénieurs pourrait entrainer des délais, comme cela arrive toujours dans de pareilles affaires. Le dernière edition de l'Atlas de Colton vous donnera tous les renseignements sur "ce diable de pays" dont vous avez besoin. Le prix en est de 20 dollars (100 francs). Je vous l'enverrai si vous le désirez.

Ne manquez pas d'aller aux eaux, et ne perdez pas le beau temps d'été. Cela donnera, j'espère, à ma soeur et à moi le plaisir d'entendre que votre santé s'est améliorée.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 236) Boston 16 Oct. 1875.

Mon cher ami,

Je reçus avant hier votre dernier envoi, et j'ai depuis 8 jours votre lettre du 15 Sept. La plupart des livres que vous demandez ne sont pas ordinairement dans le commerce. Il y en a plusieurs qui sont très rares ; le prix en est excessif et le mérite très médiocre. Je me suis mis en rapport avec un libraire qui fait une spécialité de livres d'histoire Américaine. Par la liste ci-inclus vous verrez les livres qu'il pourra fournir, avec les prix. Les meilleurs ne sont pas toujours les plus chers. De ce nombre les meilleurs sont le New York de Brodhead, le Michigan de (Lonmann**) le Minnesota de (Neill) l'Illinois de Brown, et la Louisiane de Gayarré. Le Texas, par Yokum, bien que cher est aussi un ouvrage d'assez de mérite. Je crois que l'histoire des Etats Unis de Bancroft pourra vous être utile. Les voyages de Carver ne sont pas excessivement rares, car il y en avait plusieurs éditions dans le siècle passé. Il serait plus facile de les trouver à Londres, ou ils ont été publiés, qu'ici. Il y a une traduction Anglaise de (Kalm) par John Reinhold Forster (Londres 1755, ou environ). Peut-être vous pourriez en trouver un exemplaire, comme aussi de

** May be Lanman.

Carver, en vous addressant à M. Henry Stevens de Londres, qui fait profession de chercher les anciens livres sur l'Amérique. L'excellente traduction de De Soto, avec notes, par Buckingham Smith se trouvera, je crois, chez Tross (or Trop).

La carte dont vous parlez n'est pas originale. C'est une copie faite à Paris il y a plus de 20 ans par M. Morin, qui travaillait alors pour le gouvernement Canadien, et qui fit pour moi des duplications de quelque une de ses copies. Le fort Frontenac est marqué sur la carte. En conséquence, elle ne peut pas être de 1672. Je crois qu'elle est de 1673. Le Mississippi n'y en trouve point. On y voit la partie supérieure de l'Ohio, tracé très grossièrement. Il y a aussi un petit commencement de l'Illinois, ainsi,—

Lac de l'Illinois.

R. de la Quine*

La carte est grande, mais si vous en avez besoin, je pourrai en faire tracer la partie occidentale, et vous l'envoyer. La partie orientale est sans intérêt. Je suis surpris que vous ne connaissiez pas l'original qui doit être dans les archives. Je ne sait pas en quel dépôt M. Morin l'a trouvé.

Si je ne me trompe pas, il reste encore entre les mains de M. M. Munroe assez d'argent pour payer le prochain envoi, c'est à dire pour finir les copies.

Je me souviens bien du magnifique bouquet de roses du Roi que vous avez si galament mis sur la table de l'Hôtel du l'Amirauté, et j'espère que nous dinerons ensemble encore une fois à Paris. En attendant, agréez pour moi et pour ma soeur, nos meilleurs souhaits.

Je vous serre très cordialement la main

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* These two words, of which the first is illigible, are separated in the letter by an irregularly curved line, evidently intended to suggest a shore line. The "R de la Quine" is the way the copyist has rendered the title of the map of the Illinois River, with a question mark to show she was not able to decipher it satisfactorily.

(Leaf 238) Boston 13 Sept. 1875.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 16 Août, il y a trois jours, et j'ai envoyé de l'argent immédiatement à M. M. Munroe et Cie.

Je suis bien aise que vous avez enfin pris la résolution d'aller aux eaux. An moment où j'écris vous serez sans doute de retour, avec une santé améliorée, j'espére par votre séjour, en Auvergne, dont vous me faites un récit si piquant. Moi aussi je viens de retourner chez moi. Je n'ai pas parcouru, les hauteurs du Puy de Dôme, mais j'ai gravé les montagnes de l'ancienne Acadie, aujourd'hui l'Etat de Maine, tout aussi raides que ce fameux escalier de la rue St. Augustin que vous n'oublierez jamais. Mon compagnon de voyage c'était mon ami le juge Gray, au nom de qui je vous ai demandé des renseignments sur les portraits des grands hommes de robe de votre pays. C'est un géant de 6 pieds 4 pouces, qui pèse 250 livres anglais, et qui est, du reste, un des plus savants et plus distingués de nos légistes. Vous pouvez vous figurer ce colosse grimpant les rochers avec sa carabine, car il est bon tireur, et s'arrêtant de temps en temps pour s'essuyer le front en me grondant pour l'avoir mené en des lieux si exécrables. Il n'avait dans la suite que trop de raison, car le pied lui glissa, il tomba, et se donna une entorse dont il n'est pas encore complètement rétabli. Il me menace de me faire peindre en Mephistopheles et de mettre le portrait dans sa maison comme celui de son mauvais génie.

Entre Maine et le Canada il y a une grande étendue de pays qui reste encore dans son état primitif, et qui rappelle les temps des coureurs de bois. On y trouve souvent des ours, des renards, des loups-cerviers et autres animaux. C'est une immense forêt, entrecoupée de riviéres, de lacs, et de Montagnes, où on voyage en canot d'écorce, et ou on dort sur des branches de sapin. Quand j'étais au collège, j'aimais y aller passer les vacances.

J'ai reçu deux envois de documents, que j'ai trouvé ici à mon retour, mais je n'ai pas eu le temps de les examiner. J'attends

les autres avec intérêt. Veuillez me tenir an courant du progrès de votre publication et me dire si je puis vous servir envers M. Spofford.

Je vous remercie du portrait que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer, et qui rappelle si agréablement les entretiens de la rue Mont Thabor.

Ma soeur me charge de vous présenter ses meilleurs souhaits.

Tout à vous

(Leaf 240) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 30 Nov. 1875.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai reçu le dernier envoi de manuscrits, et j'ai envoyé sur le champ à M. M. Munroe de l'argent pour les payer. Il y avait eu une méprise de ma part, car je n'avais pas mis en ligne de compte un de vos reçus qui s'était glissé parmi quelques papiers. Je n'ai pas l'intention de me mêler trop d'affaires diplomatiques: ainsi vous pouvez sans scrupule de conscience laisser dormir dans la poussière les papiers des Archives des Affaires Etrangères. Tous les documents que vous m'avez envoyés depuis le printemps sont très bien copiés et très bien arrangés. Faites-en, je vous prie, mon compliment à M. le copiste. Votre dernière lettre me fait croire qu'il y aura encore un envoi de papiers. S'il en est ainsi, veuillez m'en avertir.

J'espére bien que M. Spofford aura reçu vos premières épreuves. J'entends dire que M. M. du Comité commencent à s'inquiéter fort et à menacer la revocation du vote du Congrès. Je ne sais, s'ils savent lire les épreuves, mais je crois bien que dès le moment où ils les auront en main ils cesseront de se cabrer. Ne tardez point, je vous prie mais marchez en avant avec cet hauteur d'esprit, qui, s'acheminant vers un grand dessein, passe au-dessus des désagréments et des difficultés.

Ma soeur se souvient de votre courtoisie. M. Curtis, qui s'est marié depuis quelques semaines, demande de vos nouvelles, et sa soeur, dame d'esprit s'il en fut jamais, s'intéresse de vos travaux.

A vous très cordialement

(Leaf 242) 50 Chestnut St. Boston, 15 Dec. 1875.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai envoyé à M. M. Munroe et Cie de l'argent pour payer votre envoi de 483 pages. Les documents ne sont pas encore arrivés, mais je les recevrai sans doute en peu de temps.

À ce que vous m'avez écrit, je crois que ce paquet sera le dernier. En tout cas, comme les meilleurs documents semblent être épuisés, il ne sera pas nécessaire de continuer les copies, a moins qu'il ne se trouve quelque pièce d'un intérêt tout spécial.

Nous venons de sortir triomphants d'une grande lutte municipale. Hereusement les éléments bas et socialistes—car nous en avons, grace à plus de 200,000 émigrés Irlandais à Boston—ont subi un échec.

Croyez moi, toujours

votre ami tout dévoué

(Leaf 243) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 19 Dec. 1875.

Mon cher ami,

Avant hier je reçus votre lettre du 1 Dec. Votre dernier paquet l'a suivi de près. Vous avez raison de croire que les deux guerres de 1745 et de 1755 sont intimement liés ensemble, ayant eu, en Amérique, presque le même but. Aussi je suis bien aise de posséder les papiers, sur le premier siège de Louisburgh, avec les autres pièces de la même époque. Tout cela est très intéressant pour moi, et très important pour bien faire connaître les événements de la guerre de Sept Ans. Je vous remercie cordialement, mon ami, de cette collection, beau monument de votre savoir et de votre dévouement.

Je vous prie d'envoyer les épreuves par la poste, à mon addresse (50 Chestnut St., Boston) ou, si vous le préférez, de les mettre entre les mains de M. Rheinwald, libraire, 15 rue des Saints-Péres, addressés aux soin de M. M. Little, Brown, et Cie, dont M. R. est l'agent.

On ne m'a pas envoyé le livre de Jonbleau sur Montcalm.

Ma soeur m'engage à vous témoigner ses meilleurs souhaits. Veuillez agréez aussi les miens, et croyez moi

Votre tout-dévoué

Je viens de reçevoir un exemplaire de la traduction allemande de mes "Pioniers." L'Ancien Régime, en allemand, va paraître aussi.

(Leaf 245) Boston, 8 Mai '76.

Mon cher ami,*

Je reçus votre lettre hier, mais les livres ne sont pas encore arrivés. Vous ne m'avez pas dit par quelle voie ils sont envoyés. Je les attends avec impatience, et je me chargerai de les distribuer suivant vos instructions.

Vous m'avez promis des épreuves, mais, je ne les ai pas reçues. Je ne crois pas qu'il soit manque de confiance, car vous me connaissez trop bien. Vous m'accusez d'avoir manqué de courage parceque je n'ai pas trouvé un libraire pour entreprendre la publication de votre collection. En effêt j'aurais pu en trouver un à condition de le garantir personnellement de toute perte, ce que je n'ai pas voulu faire. Aussi j'ai travaillé tout l'hiver pour porter congrès à vous voter de l'argent.

J'écris pour accuser réception de votre lettre et pour vous féliciter de la naissance de l'enfant si longtemps attendu. Je l'accueillerai avec empressement, et j'étudierai ses traits avec attention. Aussitôt que je recevrai le paquet, j'écrirai pour vous en avertir.

Avec mes meilleurs souhaits, ma soeur me charge de vous témoigner les siens. Je vous serre la main et je suis tout à vous.

F. PARKMAN.

* Parkman's draft of this letter is with Margry to Parkman, April 19, 1875. Parkman Papers, Mass. Histl. Soc.

Cette dame dont vous parlez—"la très spirituelle"—n'est pas ma soeur mais du Dr. Curtis que vous avez vu à Paris. Comme vous elle a la croix de la Legion d'Honneur, qu'elle a très bien mérité par ses travaux désintéressés aux hôpitaux de Versailles pendant la guerre.

(Leaf 247) Union Club, Boston 8 Park Street.

Mon cher ami,

Le paquet de livres n'est pas encore arrivé. Voulez vous me dire par quelles mains il a été envoyé. Est-ce par Rheinwald, ou bien par quelque messagerie? Si je savais exactement, je serais à peine de trouver ce qu'il est devenu.

Enfin, est il addressé à moi directement, ou aux soins de M. M. Little Brown et Cie. libraires—éditeurs?

Votre tout devoué

Boston
6 Juin 1876.

(Leaf 249) Jamaica Plain near Boston U. S. A.
15 Juin 1876

Mon cher ami,

Les livres sont arrivés. Ils étaient addressés *52* Chestnut St. au lieu de 50. Du reste, j'étais alors à la campagne et le porteur a dit qu'il ne savait pas où me trouver. J'ai demandé des nouvelles du paquet et enfin j'ai réussi. Il avait resté presque 3 semaines au bureau de la Messagerie. Quand vous aurez quelque chose à m'envoyer il sera beaucoup plus sûr de l'addresser au soins de Messrs. *Little Brown and Co., Washington Street, Boston.*

Le droit d'importation des 10 vols. et des gravures fait

de	$ 9.00	(45 francs)
Fret	3.00	(15 francs)
Autres frais	1.60	(8 francs)
	$13.60	(68 francs)

Je serai peut-être remboursé d'une partie de cette somme (que j'étais obligé de payer pour avoir le paquet) par quelques-uns de ceux à qui j'ai envoyé les livres, mais je serai en perte de la moitié au moins.

J'ai fait la répartition, ainsi qu'il suit,—

M. Marshall	1 exemplaire
Buffalo Hist. Soc.	1 exemplaire
M. Balch	1 exemplaire
Penna. Hist. Soc.	1 exemplaire
M. Whittlesey	1 exemplaire
Cleveland Hist. Soc.	1 exemplaire
Mass. Hist. Soc.	1 exemplaire
Université de Harvard	1 exemplaire
M. Chas. F. Adams	1 exemplaire
F. Parkman	1 exemplaire
	10

Les Gravures

M. Marshall	1
M. Whittlesey	1
Université de Harvard	1
Mass. Hist. Soc.	1
F. Parkman	1
	5

(R. S. V. P.)

Je viens de les envoyer, et je n'ai pas encore reçu qu'une réponse, celle de la Société de Massachusetts.

M. Adams à qui j'ai envoyé un exemplaire en votre nom, est un homme très-distingué, fils et petit-fils de deux présidents des Etats Unis, et lui-même le premier homme d'état de ce pays. Pendant la guerre de 1860-'65 il était notre ministre à Londres. Comme je lui suis lié par mariage, il s'est empressé de recommander au Congrès la publication de vos papiers, dont il reconnaît parfaitement la valeur.

J'ai envoyé le livre et une des gravures à l'Université de Harvard parceque le président et plusieurs des professeurs ont signé une petition au Congrès laquelle a contribué plus qu'aucune autre à votre succès. C'est la principale et la plus ancienne université de l'Amérique et sa collection de livres sur les origines du pays est sans pareil.

Je n'ai pas encore eu le temps d'étudier le volume avec toute l'attention que son importance mérite. Je l'ai parcouru avec un extrème intérêt. La disposition des matières et l'ordre des chapitres me paraissent excellents. Quand je l'aurai examiné à fond je vous en écrirai mon avis.

Il y a dans la Bibliothèque Nationale un journal de Jacques Le Ber de l'expédition contre les Agniers en 1693. La pièce n'est pas longue. Si vous voulez m'en envoyer une copie, ce serait un acquittement de l'argent que j'ai dépensé.

Quand les 3 volumes seront publiés vous pourrez dire *exegi monumentum aere perennius*. En attendant, je vous félicite du premier, et ma soeur aussi.

Tout à vous

P.S. Je reçois ce moment la carte ci-inclus. (Here follows a certificate from the Mass. Hist. Soc. for receipt of Margry's book.—Copyist).

(Leaf 251) Boston, 9 Aug. 1876.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai lu votre admirable collection. Si les autres volumes sont d'une égale valeur, les amateurs d'histoire auront de quoi vous remercier comme un bienfaiteur. La relation de Tonty a pour moi le plus haut intérêt, car je ne l'avais jamais vue ni les piquantes accusations du Comte de Frontenac non plus. Il me tarde de voir les autres volumes.

Il y aura des comptes—rendus de l'ouvrage dans plusieurs de nos meilleurs journaux littéraires, et du moment qu'ils paraîtront je vous les enverrai. On me demande le moyen d'avoir des exemplaires. Je renvoie tout le monde à M. Spofford.

On étouffe ici dans une chaleur excessive et sans pareil. Je pars tout de suite pour les montagnes. Quand je serai de retour je ne manquerai pas de vous écrire. Ma soeur et mes filles sont déjà parties. Je n'attends que pour vous serrer la main.

Votre tout dévoué

(Leaf 252) Boston, 4 Sept. 1876.

Mon cher ami,

Étant de retour du Canada et du Lac Champlain depuis 2 jours, je trouve votre lettre *sans date,* avec la lettre incluse pour M. Spofford. Je l'ai lui envoyée immédiatement, en lui écrivant pour lui communiquer ma haute appréciation de votre 1er volume, et pour le prier de favoriser de tout son pouvoir la publication des autres. J'ai lu ce volume avec la plus grande attention. J'en avais conçu d'avance une haute idée et je ne suis pas désappointé dans mon attente. Cependant, j'étais bien aise de voir que j'avais déjà eu presque toutes les pièces, à l'exception de la relation de Tonty et les piquantes accusations de Frontenac. Quand le 2me volume paraîtra, il n'en sera pas de même. J'attends avec impatience le journal de Jontel, et j'ai essayé de donner à M. Spofford quelque idée de son importance.

Plusieurs comptes-rendus du 1er vol. seront publiés dans peu de temps, et je vous les enverrai.

Je ne crois pas que Harrisse puisse nuire à votre affaire. Bien que je ne sache pas vos rapports antérieurs avec lui, je sais bien que le vote du Congrès n'était pas dû à son influence, et qu'il en était tout à fait indépendant. S'il y a des difficultés, faites moi les savoir, et je crois pouvoir les détourner.

Je ne puis pas vous indiquer le fonds du Bibliothèque Nat. où se trouve le journal de Le Ber. C'est Faillon qui en fait mention. Voulez vous m'envoyer à sa place les études sur Montcalm dont vous parlez, dans le *Correspondant.* Je n'ai jamais reçu l'ouvrage de Jonbleau sur Montcalm, (Paris Laporte, 1874) bien que j'ai essayé par tout moyen d'en avoir un exemplaire. En pouvez vous

me donner quelques renseignements? Quand la preface de l'édition française de votre ouvrage sera imprimé, vous n'oublierez pas, j'espére, de me l'envoyer.

Ma soeur, qui, comme moi, est de retour de la campagne, vous envoie ses meilleurs souhaits.

Tout à vous

N'oubliez pas, je vous prie, les numéros du *Correspondant.*

(Leaf 254) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 12 Dec. 1876.

Mon cher Margry,

Je finis aujourdhui la lecture des épreuves que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer. Les lettres de La Salle, comme vous l'avez dit, sont d'une valeur infiniment supérieure à celle de la relation dont elles sont en partie la base. Elles sentent l'homme et portent partout l'empreinte de sa main. En les lisant, on entrevoit bien des choses qui ne se revêlent pas dans la relation officielle. Après avoir vu cet echantillon il me tarde de voir les autres.

Quand ce volume sera fini, je ferai faire une compte-rendu de celui-ci et du premier dans la *North American Review,* qui est *facile princeps* de nos revues littéraires et politiques. On me dit qu'il y aura encore des notices du premier volume dans certains journaux de grande vogue.

Je les attends depuis deux mois. Quant aux ennemis que vos révelations pourraient exciter, je ne puis pas m'empêcher de croire que, quelque soit leur malice, vous serez en état de les mépriser. Je crois aussi que vos amis valeut bien les autres.

Après avoir lu la lettre pour M. Spofford, je l'ai lui envoyée, mais jusqu'ici je n'ai rien entendu de sa part. Faute de connaître l'auteur de l'article dont vous parlez, vous pourriez vous addresser à M. le redacteur de la *Nation,* (5 Beekman St. New York). Cela serait une politesse de votre part, mais il n'est aucunement nécessaire, et on ne s'y attend pas. Ce journal n'est point flatteur. Bien des gens lui en veulent à cause de sa franchise un peu sévère, qui ne ménage jamais les mauvais écrivains. Il ne loue que des

livres qu'il croit le mériter, et la justice ne demande pas des remerciments. J'ai envoyé l'article à M. Spofford, pour l'encourager dans le bien.

Ma soeur et moi nous vous souhaitons la bonne année.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 256) 50 Chestnut St. Boston (no date).

Francis Parkman.
50 Chestnut Street
Boston
Amérique Etats Unis

M. Jouart[?]
s'est trompé de
mon adresse
La voici

Mon cher ami,

J'écris un mot pour vous remercier de vos dernières épreuves. Je suis charmé avant tout de la lettre de La Salle à un de ses associés.

Je vous ai envoyé une notice sur le 1er volume, imprimée à Cleveland. J'en connais l'auteur. C'est un bon homme un peu plus zêlé qu'instruit. Vous remarquerez sans doute quelques curieuses erreurs dans son article. Il croit, par exemple, que l'Eveque est un nom propre.

Je vais commencer l'impression de mon *Frontenac,* qui paraîtra, j'espère, au printemps. Vous en aurez le premier exemplaire.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 257) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 12 Feb. 1877.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai reçu jusqu'au page 496 des épreuves de votre ouvrage. Ce qui me frappe le plus dans les lettres de La Salle c'est l'exactitude de ses descriptions du pays, par où il a passé. Je vous en aurais écrit plutôt, mais je suis si occupé depuis six semaines des épreuves de mon Frontenac, et au même temps j'ai la vue si faible que je n'ai pas trouvé le moyen de le faire.

Ce monsieur que vous savez commence à s'ébranler. Un professeur de l'Université Harvard, dont je suis dans le contrôle, lui écrivit au mois de Décembre pour lui demander des renseignements sur une question de droit Français, et M. H. a mis dans sa réponse quelques lignes en forme de postscriptum, que le professeur m'a envoyées. Les voici.—

If you should meet Mr. Francis Parkman tell him to be very careful how he uses the documents in Mr. Margry's new book. I have a letter from Mr. Meyer, Professor in the College of France and one of the commission appointed by the State for publishing historical documents, stating that the reason why they have always declined publishing Mr. Margry's documents is that they are not convinced of their authenticity, and ascribed his always refusing to exhibit the originals, or stating where they are, to the belief that some of them had been manufactured by Mr. de Rosny.

Ce même professeur de Harvard m'ayant dit qu'il y a un frère de M. H. employé dans un des départements à Washington, j'ai écrit à M. Spofford pour le conseiller de se bien garder contre toute prévention qu'on pourrait essayer de lui insinuer. Il ne serait pas nécessaire de vous rappeler l'importance d'indiquer, dans le 3me volume au plus tard, la provenance de tous les documents. Il est vrai qu'ils parlent pour eux-mêmes, mais il y a peu de gens assez habiles et assez instruits pour bien apprécier le témoignage de leurs preuves internes; et quand même, il faut les garantir contre des réclamations.

Qui est ce M. de Rosny? Je crois avoir dechiffré le nom quoiqu'il soit très mal écrit dans la lettre de M. H.

Ma soeur a de quoi s'occuper cet hiver, car ma fille cadette fait son début dans le monde. Elle m'engage à vous témoigner ses bons souvenirs. Elle n'a pas oublié le parfum des roses du Roy à l'hotel de l'Amirauté.

Tout à vous de coeur,

(Leaf 259) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 10 Mars 1877.

Mon cher ami,

Le directeur de la *Nation* m'engage de vous faire ses remerciments de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu lui écrire. J'ai prié les redacteurs de la *North American Review* de me garder une place pour l'article dont je vous ai parlé. Ils me l'ont promis avec empressement. Il n'y a pas de meilleur moyen de mettre votre ouvrage devant le public de ce pays, car plusieurs de nos principaux journaux donnent un compte-rendu de chaque numéro de cette revue. J'écrirai l'article aussitôt que j'aurai reçu le 2me volume.

J'en ai les épreuves jusqu'au page 490. Il me tarde de voir les autres. Je les ai étudié avec attention et j'en suis ravi, avant tout des lettres de La Salle. Son caractère s'y revèle d'une manière à la fois frappante, curieuse et touchante. L'étendue de ses vues, sa force, sa grandeur d'âme et (trait surprenant) cette espèce de *timidité naturelle* qu'il avoue, font un ensemble vraiment dramatique. J'en parlai l'autre jour à une dame de ma connaissance, esprit vif et perçant, qui en a été aussi frappée que moi. Cependant on voit en lui, dans ses rapports avec Beaujeu et aillieurs, un orgueil, une réserve et une méfiance qui ont été sans doute une source féconde de malheur pour cet homme remarquable.

Malheureusement j'ai perdu la liste de ceux à qui j'ai envoyé le 1er volume. Je vous en ai communiqué les noms, et vous pourrez me les renvoyer si vous désirez que je fasse la distribution des exemplaires du 2me vol. Mais s'ils sont envoyés directement à moi je serai chargé du droit d'importation qui monte à une somme considérable. Le seul moyen de l'éviter sera de les envoyer par les mains de M. Spofford. Si vous jugez à propos, je lui écrirai là-dessus, mais je ne l'ai pas voulu faire sans votre participation. Je ne serais que trop aise de payer le droit sur l'exemplaire destiné à moi personellement; et comme, pour la raison que j'ai marquée, il est à désirer que je l'aie de bonne heure je vous prie de me l'envoyer aussitôt qu'il sera prêt, par les mains de M. M. Bossange ou autrement, en me donnant avis par lettre.

Ma soeur est à Montreal où elle va tous les ans visiter sa soeur aînée. Ella a lu votre dernière lettre, et me chargea avant son départ de ne pas oublier de vous dire qu'elle est très sensible à votre courtoisie et votre bienveillance.

Enfin notre président est installé. C'est un homme de conscience et de coeur, chose assez rare parmi nos politiques. Dieu veuille qu'il ait de la force égale à l'occasion. J'étais avec lui à l'école de droit de Harvard en 1845

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 261) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 9 Avril 1877.

Mon cher ami,

Je reçus hier vos deux lettres du 24 et du 26 mars. J'ai aussi toutes les épreuves, c'est à dire le 2me volume tout complet. Mille remerciements. Depuis longtemps je n'ai rien lu de si intéressant.

Tous les papiers de feu M. Sparks sont actuellement à la bibliothèque de Harvard, suivant son testament. Je m'y suis rendu l'autre jour pour examiner le "recit d'un ami de Galinée," où à mon grand regret il n'y a pas la moindre indication de provenance. Cette collection de papiers sur La Salle, reliés dans un volume, a été faite par Benj. Perly Poore, en 1846 ou environ, mais les pièces ne sont pas copiées de sa main.

Je suis étonné et indigné de la conduite de Spofford. Je ne sais pas l'expliquer. Il m'a traité la même manière, car je lui ai écrit deux fois depuis 3 mois, sans avoir un seul mot de réponse. J'écrirai immédiatement à un sénateur que je connais, et qui a beaucoup fait pour engager le congres à faire imprimer vos documents. Je le prierai de se servir de son influence pour éclaircir cette affaire et d'appliquer l'éperon à ce monsieur. Le congrès n'est pas maintenant en session, mais ce sénateur, qui a beaucoup de crédit pourra écrire à Spofford, qui n'osera [plus] rester dans son silence irritant. C'est chose étrange ce manque de courtoisie et de devoir, mais j'espére bien lui faire entendre raison.

Mon Frontenac est déjà cliché, mais il ne sera pas publié avant l'automne à cause de la crise financière qui gâte toute espèce de commerce, et notablement celui des livres.

J'écris à la hâte. Bientôt vous entendrez encore de mes nouvelles. Ma soeur a lu votre dernière lettre comme moi avec indignation des mauvais traitements que vous avez reçus.

Tout à vous de coeur.

F. PARKMAN TO M. SPOFFORD

(Leaf 263) n. p., n. d.

Dear Sir,

I hope that you have received the letters I have sent you with regard to the Margry papers. M. Margry has sent to me, as well as to you, the proofs of all his second volume. A most careful and critical examination of such papers in it as I had not known long before, has fully convinced me both of their entire genuineness and of their great value to our history. Since I wrote to you I have received a letter from Mr. Marshall informing me that he has seen the originals of all the most important among them, and that their authenticity is beyond all question, I know no person whose testimony on such a point could have greater weight. It confirms by external evidence what I before felt to be fully established by internal proof. If, therefore, insinuations have been thrown out against M. Margry's loyalty they may be rejected as absolutely without foundation.

M. Margry's position is a painful one. He has spent more than thirty years and more money than he could well afford in collecting these and other papers. No motive of gain has influenced him, and the present publication will barely pay him its costs. I hope therefore that there will be no farther delay in giving the necessary directions to Messrs. Bossange to receive the volume now ready, and in making the remittance to M. Margry which will enable him to discharge the debts he has contracted to the printers. Not having heard from you for a long time he is not unnaturally anxious under the burden that is upon him.

Pray pardon my troubling you in a matter which must be a somewhat trying addition to your other duties. At least there is the satisfaction in it that the result will be a great additional light thrown on very interesting passages of American History.

Respectfully and truly yrs.

Mon cher ami,

Celle-ci est la copie d'une lettre que j'ai envoyée à M. Spofford par l'entremise de M. Hoar, sénateur de Massachusetts au congrès. La réponse est ci-incluse. Il m'a envoyé au même temps une copie de sa lettre, addressée à vous 26 Mars. Vous l'aurez reçue, sans doute. Il parle avec la plus grande confiance de vous et de vos travaux. Il n'explique pas son long silence, mais, je crois, on n'aurait pas tort si on l'attribuait à des distractions politiques presque sans exemple parmi nous. Il parait avoir envoyé à vous et à M. M. Bossange toutes les autorisations requises. Après tout le dénouement n'est pas si mal. Plutôt que de voir cette affaire en danger d'échouer, j'irais moi même à Washington pour l'appuyer auprès de M. Howe et le comité.

Tout à vous de coeur

F. PARKMAN TO SPOFFORD

(Leaf 265) 50 Chestnut St. Boston, 22 Mar. 1877.

Mon cher ami,

Voici la copie d'une lettre que je viens d'écrire a M. Spofford.*

Dear Sir,

Not long ago I received indirectly an intimation from Mr. Harrisse that there were, or might be, doubts as to the authenticity of some of M. Margry's documents.

So far as concerns the first volume I knew that such doubts were unfounded, since with two or three unimportant exceptions,

* Note in pencil at top of 1st sheet.

the papers in it had long been known to me, some of them having been copied, about 30 years ago, under the direction of Benj. Perley Poore, from the originals at Paris, for the use of Dr. Jared Sparks, while others had been procured by myself, a few years later, from unquestionable sources.

With regard to the second volume, the case is different, for though I have long known a part of the papers it contains, there are others which are new to me. The principal of these are the letters of La Salle. I have therefore studied them with the most critical care; and having just been through the entire collection of Canadian official correspondence of the same period, and having also followed La Salle's routes of travel and carefully examined the country, I was in a position to apply very delicate tests of the authenticity of these letters. The result of my examination is a full conviction of the genuineness of them all. In this respect, they speak for themselves in language which cannot be mistaken.

Of the letters of Beaujeu in the same volume, some have been known to me many years. The rest are, in my belief, equally authentic, judged by internal evidence.

Nevertheless, as few persons are in a position to accept this kind of proof as conclusive, I wrote to Mr. Marshall of Buffalo what I had heard from Harrisse, and desired him to look into the matter at Paris, whither he was on the point of going. He is a most candid, intelligent, and careful investigator, and will be pretty sure to reach full and correct conclusions.

I believe you know the bitter feeling on the part of Harrisse against Margry.

Yours etc.

A. R. Spofford, Esq.

I regard these two volumes as an invaluable addition to the history of western discovery.

(Leaf 267) 50 Chestnut St. Boston, 22 Juillet 1877.*

Mon cher ami,

Votre lettre du 2me est arrivée depuis 5 jours. Je regrette extrêmement le mauvais état de votre santé, et quant aux médecins, je suis de votre avis. Prenez donc un peu de repos, et cherchez quelque distraction. Ce ne sera pas de temps perdu.

L'article pour le North American Review est écrit. Le rédacteur me dit dans une lettre que j'ai reçu depuis peu, "If I can possibly make room for it, it will appear in the next number, (September), if not, it will certainly be published in the succeeding issue" (November). Il ajoute "I am exceedingly pleased with it." L'article porte principalement sur les lettres de La Salle.

Le Président Hayes, avec une partie de son cabinet, a fait une visite à Boston il y a 3 semaines. C'était principalement à cause de son fils qui finissait son cours à l'école de droit de l'université Harvard. Ma position officielle m'a donné le moyen d'exploiter cette visite dans l'intérêt de votre ouvrage. Au diner dans la grande salle (où il y avait 1100 convives) j'étais assis près du président et à coté du sénateur Bayard, un de nos meilleurs politiques, homme de bonne campagnie et qui aime les lettres. Je lui ai parlé votre affaire et il m'a écouté avec attention. Il me dit, "I know Mr. Spofford very well. He is a kind and obliging man, but he has been overwhelmed with work the last two years, and I think that this is the reason of his delay in answering letters. He has so few assistants that he has scarcely any leisure. I am sure that his intentions are good."

Le président, qui avait lu mes livres, m'a parlé d'une manière la plus obligéante, et, après le diner, il m'a dit de ne pas manquer de venir le voir quand je serais à Washington. Je crois vous assurer qu'en cas de besoin votre publication trouvera en lui un puissant protecteur. J'ai fait aussi en cette occasion d'autres connaissances qui pourraient nous être utiles.

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* The draft of this letter is with Margry to Parkman, July 2, 1877, Parkman Papers, Mass. Histl. Soc.

Ma soeur, comme moi, souhaite avec ardeur que votre santé sera bientôt rétablie.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 269) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 11 Nov. 1877.

Mon cher ami,

Le *North American* vient de paraître, et je vous l'envoie aujourdhui par la poste. Avez vous reçu mon "Frontenac." Je vous l'envoyai en Septembre par l'intermédiaire de M. M. Sampson Low & Cie libraires de Londres. Les Canadiens m'en veulent.

Bienque le "N. American" n'est publié que depuis trois jours j'ai déjà vu en plusieurs journaux des notices de ce numéro où on fait mention avec éloge de votre ouvrage àpropos de mon article. L'édition de ce numéro est de 9000.

Je suis bien aise d'entendre vos bons rapports avec M. Washburne. Croyez-moi, vos amis l'emporteront sur les autres. J'ai hâte de voir les épreuves du *3me* volume.

Vous avez raison d'admirer le chiffre énorme des convives au repas dont je vous ai écrit. J'aurais du l'expliquer un peu. Les gradués de l'université Harvard ont la coutume—qui a commencé, si je ne me trompe pas, il y a deux siècles—de se réunir tous les ans à un certain jour de juin, qu'on appelle "Commencement Day." Ils viennent en foule, car ils aiment leur Alma Mater. Vers la fin de la journée ils ont naturellement faim. Alors on donne à manger à une partie de ces pèlerins dans la grande salle, qui en contient facilement plus d'une mille, assis par ordre de classes, et de tous les âges depuis 25 jusqu'à 85 ans. Le président Hayes et sa suite ont voulu assister à cette fête. Ils fûrent assis, avec le président de l'université et les cinq directeurs, à une table à part, au bout de la salle.

Ces réunions sont pour moi très intéressants. Bien que je sois de ces cinq directeurs—dont les fonctions sont purement administratives—ne croyez pas qu'il n'y ait parmi les professeurs des hommes beaucoup plus savants que moi.

M. Marshall me dit que le petit dessin de Frontenac dans son canot—dont vous m'avez parlé en 1872, et que j'ai cherché sans succès se trouve *Bib. Nationale,* dep. des *Estampes,* portefeuille *Canada.* Serait il possible de m'en faire faire une photographie? Si cela se peut, veuillez me dire combien d'argent il faut remettre.

Ma soeur reçoit avec plaisir, comme toujours, l'assurance de vos bons souvenirs.

à vous de coeur.

P. S. 9 heures du matin 12 Nov. Je reçois les premières épreuves à ce moment.

(Leaf 271) Boston 6, Mai 1878.

Mon cher ami,

Je vous dois une petite explication. J'aurais tort assurément de ne vous avoir pas écrit depuis si longtemps si ce n'était pas à cause d'un mauvais état pendant les mois de Mars et d'Avril. N'ayant pu dormir, je n'ai pu écrire. Ma correspondance en a fait les frais, et l'histoire de Montcalm aussi.

Cependant j'ai lu presque tous les papiers de la collection que vous avez faite pour moi. Je vous dis dans ma dernière lettre que je n'y faisais pas de grand progrès. Ce n'était pas, comme vous paraissez le croire, à cause de l'écriture qui est toujours bonne et quelquefois admirable, mais parceque je faisais tant de notes et de collations. Pour la période de la guerre, c'est à dire 1755-1763, les documents sont excessivement intéressants. Ceux qui précédent ne le sont pas au même degré, comme on doit l'attendre, mais on y trouve parmi bien des choses de peu d'importance, les moyens de connaître l'époque et de comprendre les événements qui se preparaient. Bougainville est admirable. C'est bien dommage qu'il n'ait pas continué son journal jusqu'à la fin. La biographie de Montcalm s'occupe trop des accouchements de sa femme. Cependant, son style nerveux et saccadé sent le soldat plus que l'homme de famille. J'ai fait relier la collection en 12 volumes. C'est pour moi un vrai trésor.

Je n'ai pas encore lu Jontel, mais j'ai étudié avec attention les pièces antérieures. Sans elles, il serait impossible de connaître les intentions du roy à l'égard de l'expédition de La Salle. Me trouvant enfin rétabli, je vais commencer Jontel, et je vous enverrai mes impressions. Vous êtes sur la fin d'un grand oeuvre dont l'Amérique vous saura gré. Il est très rare qu'on voie un tel monument de zêlé et de travail désintéressé, si riche et si complet. Vous pouvez dire avec raison *Exegi monumentum.* J'attends avec impatience les dernières pages.

Vous me dites que vous avez l'intention d'écrire une notice sur "Frontenac." J'en suis bien aise et j'en vous remercie, car il n'y a que très peu d'écrivains qui puissent traiter ce sujet avec connaissance de cause. Aussi une ligne de votre plume vaut plus qu'une vingtaine d'un autre. Mes livres sont moins connus en France qu'en Allemagne où on a fait la traduction de plusieurs volumes de la série. Cependant, c'est un sujet qui a du intéresser les Français plus que toute autre nation.

Vous parlez de M. Rameau. L'automne dernier, un journal de New York—la Nation—m'a envoyé sa Colonie Féodale, en m'en demandant une notice. Frappé de ses nombreuses erreurs, j'ai écrit mes impressions sans ménagement. L'article était à peine imprimé quand je reçus de M. Rameau lui-même un exemplaire de son livre. Je regrette cette affaire, car M. Rameau pourrait croire que je me suis servi du livre qu'il a eu l'obligéance de m'envoyer pour en faire la critique, procédé malhonnête dont je ne suis pas capable.

(The letter ends abruptly here.)

(Leaf 273) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 7 Juin 1878.

Mon cher ami,

Les épreuves sont arrivés jusqu'à la 320*me* page.

À en juger par votre lettre, vous êtes assez content de l'article dans le "North American Review," j'en suis bien aise. Il est écrit contre mes propres intérêts: car, en les régardant seuls,

j'aurais mieux fait de ne pas relever les nouveaux faits touchant La Salle avant la publication de la nouvelle édition du "Discovery of the Great West." Mais il ne faut pas bargaigner avec l'amitié. Soit dit en passant, j'entends dire de Washington que M. Spofford est plus que content de vos papiers. On m'assure qu'il en parle avec grand éloge.

Moi, j'étudie les papiers de 1745-'63, mais je n'y fais pas trop de progrès. Plusieurs de ces documents sont tirés de la collection Moreau St. Méry. Quelle est cette collection? Se trouve-t-elle aux archives, ou bien est elle une collection particulière? Il est très important pour moi de savoir les provenances des pièces dont je me sers, car, sans cela, je ne serai pas à peine de repondre aux attaques. Aussi je vous demanderai où se trouve cette très remarquable biographie de Montcalm.

Le journal de Bougainville finit avec l'été de 1757. Croyez vous qu'il l'ait continué au delà de ce temps?

C'est un peu tard, mon ami, pour vous souhaiter la bonne année. J'aurais mieux aimé le faire à Paris, en buvant à votre santé un verre de Bordeaux. En attendant j'envoie mes bons souhaits à travers les mers, accompagnés de ceux de ma soeur.

Tout à vous

Le nouveau livre de Rameau est très faible. Il est rempli d'erreurs de toute sorte.

(Leaf 275) Boston, 15 Juin 1878.*

Mon cher ami,

Je reçus hier la table des Documents, et j'en finis la lecture à ce moment.

L'arrangement des matières est excellent. Les indications ne laissent rien à désirer. Cette table a redoublé la valeur de la collection. Malheureusement pour moi, je trouve une lacune dans

* Draft of this letter is with Margry to Parkman, Feb. 7, 1878, Parkman Papers, Mass. Histl. Soc.

les épreuves de ce dernier volume. Elles manquent depuis la page 560 jusqu'à la table, (pages 561-624). Je n'ai jamais reçu celles-ci, et je vous prie de me les envoyer.

Jontel est admirable. Michel dans son Journal Historique a retranché bien des choses des plus curieuses et même des plus importantes. En lisant la relation originale, on concoit, pour ainsi dire, une amitié pour l'auteur.

L'autre jour il m'est arrivé une lettre de M. Harrisse. Il a lu mon article sur La Salle dans le North American Review, et en conséquence il se plaint parce que je n'ai pas fait mention de lui. Il dit qu'il a frayé le chemin de votre publication. Il n'est point content du Congrès, et encore moins de vous, à cause de je ne sais quelle convention qu'il dit avoir été faite autrefois entre vous et lui.

Ma soeur me charge de vous féliciter du grand pas que vous venez de faire vers le complet succès de votre entreprise. En effêt, ces trois volumes seuls sont une admirable histoire documentaire.

N'oubliez pas, je vous prie, de m'expédier les pages qui me manquent.

Tout à vous de coeur,

(Leaf 277) Boston 9. Juillet 1878.*

Mon cher ami,

Enfin vous allez vous ranger. A la bonne heure. C'est un peu tard. N'importe; comme on dit en Anglais, "better late than never." Je suis tenté d'aller exprès à Paris, voir le nouveau marié. Vous m'avez dit, en 1872, que vous allez mourir en 3 ans. Vous avez mieux fait, et je vous en félicite. Bonheur à vous et à madame votre épouse.

Je vous écrivis il y a 2 ou 3 semaines pour vous dire que j'avais reçu la table des documents mais qu'une soixantaine de pages précédentes n'était pas arrivée. M. Marshal ne les a pas

* Draft is with Margry to Parkman, July 8, 1878, Parkman Papers, Mass. Histl. Soc.

reçues non plus. S'il n'est pas possible de les envoyer, permettez -moi d'acheter à votre libraire le 3 me volume tout entier. Votre envoi du 1er n'ayant pas été suivi à cause de la douane, il y aura des exemplaires disponibles des autres.

Assurément personne n'a plus travaillé que moi pour faire agréer au Congrès la publication de ces documents. J'ai écrit environ quarante lettres à nos sénateurs et autres; j'en ai vu personellement plusieurs, et j'ai engagé nos principaux hommes de lettres à signer des pétitions pour appuyer la demande. Un de nos politiques les plus respectables, M. Hoar, dont je crois vous avoir parlé, me dit que le Congrès avait approuvé la publication en conséquence de mon appréciation de la valeur de vos collections. Parmi ceux qui ont le mieux fait pour nous à Washington sont M. Hoar de Massachusetts et M. Garfield d'Ohio. Le General Sherman a aussi contribué à notre succès.

N'oubliez pas de m'envoyer votre compte-rendu de "Frontenac."

Ma soeur vous prie de recevoir ses félicitations sur votre mariage.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 279) Boston 8 Aôut 1878.

Mon Cher Ami

J'écris à la hâte pour vous dire que je viens de recevoir les bonnes feuilles pp 561-624. Je les ai démandées au bureau de poste, et, après huit jours, on les a trouvées.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 281) Boston, 25 Sept. 1878.*

Mon cher Margry,

J'aurai répondu plutôt à votre lettre du 7 Juillet si je n'avais la vue si mauvaise depuis 3 mois qu'il est très difficile pour moi d'écrire, et souvent même impossible.

* The draft is in the Parkman Letters, Mass. Histl. Soc.

Je vous remercie beaucoup de votre obligéance en m'envoyant les feuilles qui manquaient. L'envoi précédent, je crois, est perdu sans resource. Je vous sais gré, aussi, de ce que vous avez dit à mon égard dans la préface que je viens de recevoir. Je n'y trouve pas de corrections à faire.

Je vous prie de faire les compliments de votre ami Américan à Madame Margry. Ma soeur vous envoye ses félicitations et ses meilleurs souhaits. Ma fille ainée est fiancée depuis peu à un jeune homme de beaucoup d'intelligence, de bonne moeurs, et de bonne famille.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 282) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 6 Dec. 1878.

Mon cher ami,

Votre lettre du 18 Oct. m'attendait ici, où je l'ai trouvée à mon retour de Quebec, à la fin de Novembre. Les yeux me font encore beaucoup de mal, mais j'y suis accoutumé depuis une trentaine d'années, pendant lesquelles j'ai formé l'habitude d'écrire souvent à la dictée et d'étudier les livres et les documents à l'aide d'un lecteur. Aussi, un accès du mal ne m'empêche pas tout-à-fait de marcher en avant, quoique assez lentement.

Je viens de faire une visite à Québec, pour faire quelques recherches sur Montcalm. Depuis mon retour, la presse ultramontaine de Canada s'est soulevée contre moi avec acharnement. Selon elle, "cet homme" est "un infidéle" qui "a insulté notre pays et notre religion," etc. etc. Elle enrage parceque l'Université Laval a voulu m'honorer d'un degré de Docteur ès Lettres, acte inattendu de la part de cette université catholique. Le parti Jésuite se cabre; voulant qu'elle soit, pas seulement catholique, mais bigote. Aussi les journaux de Québec sont remplis de leurs protestations. C'est une tempête qui m'amuse. J'ai reçu ce matin même "Le Courrier" et "Le Canadien," contenant des articles excessivement farouches, contre l'université et contre votre malheureux ami. Ils ont raison. Il est toujours bon pour la santé d'exhaler son humeur.

Mille remerciments de vos intentions de me faire mieux connaître à vos conpatriotes. Chose curieuse, on me connaît mieux en Allemagne qu'en France. Trois de mes livres ont été traduits en Allemand: un seul en Français. Du reste, ceci n'est pas, à vrai dire traduit, mais paraphrasé. Pour vous donner les renseignements que vous avez demandé, je vous envoye par la poste —addressée 11 me rue Mont-Thabor—une esquisse de ma vie écrite par l'Abbé Casgrain, qui m'aime en dépit de ma hérésie. Vous demandez pourquoi j'ai formé le dessein d'écrire l'histoire des Français en Amérique. Rien de plus simple. Dans ma jeunesse j'avais le goût des forêts, de la chasse, des sauvages. Je fréquentais ceux-ci, je parcourais les bois, j'y chassais, j'y voyageais à pied et en canot. C'était ainsi que je passais mes vacances. Je compris de bonne heure que ces deux goûts, des livres et des forêts, pourraient se réconcilier, pourrait même s'aider réciproquement, dans le champs de l'histoire Franco-Américaine. Voilà jourquoi je m'en suis occupé. Plus tard, 1846 je passais chez les tribus primitifs des Montagnes Rocheuses, et je demeurais quelque temps chez eux pour les mieux connaître. La relation de ce voyage est publiée. Je crois vous l'avoir envoyée. Si non, je vous l'enverrai immédiatement.

7 Dec. J'avais déjà écrit la plupart de cette lettre quand je reçus la votre du 21 Nov. J'avais aussi mis à la poste le petit livre de l'Abbé Casgrain, avant d'apprendre que vous l'aviez déjà. Vous parlez de mes rosiers. Je voudrais bien être à portée d'offrir un bouquet de leur fleurs à Madame Margry,—et aussi de vous voir chez moi, comme autre fois l'Abbé. Je me suis toujours mêlé un peu de fleurs et de jardins, et j'étais pendant plusieurs années, président de notre societé d'horticulture.

M. H. m'a écrit une lettre pour dire que c'est lui qui a fait agréer au congrès la publication de vos documents. Il croit être volé de sa gloire. Je ne sais ce que cela veut dire

Ma soeur vous souhaite la bonne année, et moi aussi.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 285) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 23 Mars. 1879.

Mon cher ami,

N'aurai je jamais de vos nouvelles? Je vous ai écrit une lettre en Janvier, et depuis ce temps-là je n'ai rien entendu de votre part. Est-ce à cause de mauvaise santé? C'est ce que je voudrais bien savoir. Ecrivez-moi je vous prie, quelques lignes pour me dire que vous êtes encore en vie.

Présentez mes compliments à Madame Margry et croyez-moi toujours

Votre ami de coeur.

(Leaf 287) 50 Chestnut St. Boston, 3 Avril 1879.

Mon cher ami,

Quelques jours après avoir mis à la poste une lettre pour demander de vos nouvelles, je reçus la votre du 12 Mars, et je suis bien aise de savoir que vous êtes encore en vie, en bonne santé, et heureux.

J'écrivis hier une lettre à M. Spofford, dont les étranges délais sont difficiles à comprendre ou à supporter.

Vos critiques ne sont que des mouches. Un peu de bruit—voilà tout. Ils voudraient bien piquer, mais ils ne peuvent rien. Moquez-vous-en. Moi, j'ai écrit un article contre le suffrage universel; les politiques, les democrates, la canaille hurlent comme des loups, et je m'en ris. Je me suis rendu conpable de lèse-majesté contre le peuple souverain, mais il y a ici bien de traitres comme moi qui n'hésitent pas de m'applaudir. C'est assez curieux que de servir à la fois de cible vivante aux democrates et aux ultramontains.—C'est aussi assez amusant. Cela n'empêche pas de manger ni de dormir.

17 Avril. Je commençai cette lettre il y a quinze jours, et en la lisant je me trouve fort injuste envers M. Spofford, dont j'ai attendu la réponse avant que de la finir. Cette fois il n'y a rien à lui reprocher en fait de promptitude. C'est moi qui suis à

blâmer. Il reçut, dit il, le plan du 4*me* volume au 30*me* Novembre, et il écrivit pour vous dire *que le plan était approuvé*; mais sa lettre a manqué, soit par l'incertitude de votre addresse, soit par quelque accident. "I will write once more now" ajoute-t-il.

Ma fille ainée se marie au 3 de Mai. Elle demeurera au faubourg de Longwood, seulement deux milles d'ici.

Ma soeur m'engage de vous dire qu'elle est toujours sensible à votre politesse, et de vous renouveler ses félicitations sur votre mariage. Pour ma part, je vous prie d'offrir mes hommages à Madame Margry et de me croire.

Votre ami de coeur

(Leaf 289) n. p., n. d.

Mon cher ami,

Voici une lettre addressée à moi mais destinée pour un autre. Je me hâte de vous l' envoyer.

Tout à vous

A. R. SPOFFORD TO F. PARKMAN

(Leaf 290) Library of Congress, Washington Apl. 4 1879.

Dr. Sir:

In reply to your communication of 2d I have to advise you that I approved Mr. Margry's resumé of Contents to Vol. 4, on 30th of Nov. last. I am led to think from your letter that he never rec'd mine—which occurred once before either from his obscure address, or other cause. I write him once more now.

Very respectfully

A. R. SPOFFORD
Librarian of Congress

(Leaf 291) Boston. 3 Aout, 1879.

Mon cher Margry,

Je vais demain à Canada, et je ne veux pas partir sans vous écrire quelques mots.

Je n'ai jamais vu votre M. Butler, mais j'ai eu quelque correspondance avec lui. Je crois que c'est un homme d'esprit, mais d'idées assez bizarres. On m'a envoyé une photographie de la medaille Nesmond avec les conjectures singulières de l'érudit qui a écrit l'article dans le *Historical Magazine*. Cette espèce d'antiquaire se trouve assez souvent dans les états de l'Ouest, et, à vrai dire, elle n'est pas absolument inconnue dans ceux de l'Est. On m'a prié d'assister à une fête en honneur de Marquette, à Michillemackinaw,—mais je n'aime pas ces choses-là.

Je reviendrai ici à la fin du mois, et en Septembre je marierai ma fille cadette. L'ainée est déjà établie. Elle a été mariée le printemps, et sa soeur va l'être l'automne. C'est curieux. Au commencement de l'année passée, je ne l'aurai déviné, ni pour l'une ni pour l'autre.

Le fiancé de la cadette, M. Coolidge,* est un tout jeune homme, petit, intelligent, de bons moeurs, bien élevé. Je l'aime beaucoup. Il veut étudier l'art. Aussi les nouveaux mariés demeureront quelque temps à Paris. Je dirai à M. C. de vous venir voir. Ce sera, je crois, en Octobre. Il parle Français, ayant demeuré longtemps en Europe.

Pour le moment, je suis seul, ma soeur, comme ma fille étant à la campagne.

N'oubliez pas de présenter mes compliments à Madame Margry et croyez-moi toujours.

Votre tout dévoué

[Here follows a formal invitation to his daughter's wedding.]

* J. T. Coolidge, Jr.

(Leaf 294) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 13 Jan. 1880.

Mon cher Margry,

N'ayant rien entendu de vous depuis si longtemps, je prends le parti, faute de reçevoir une lettre, de vous en écrire une.

Cependant je n'ai rien à vous dire. Montcalm marche lentement. Mes deux filles sont mariées, et je reste seul à la maison avec ma soeur. Du reste, je ne suis pas oisif. Il y a toujours quelque chose à faire, et il n'est pas sans effort que je garde pour l'histoire le temps qui lui est du.

Ma fille cadette parle avec plaisir de votre visite. L'ainée n'est pas si loin de son père, car elle demeure au faubourg de Longwood, à deux milles d'ici.

L'hiver, si rude à Paris, est très doux chez nous, mais il faut payer cela, et nous aurons plus tard, en Fevrier Mars, quatre pieds de neige, si je ne me trompe pas. C'est le natural de notre climat de la Nouvelle Angleterre.

Voici ci-inclus un petit compliment qu'on a eu l'obligéance de m'envoyer du Canada, l'autre jour. Je le trouve en fouillant ma poche et je vous l'envoie comme échantillons de bien des gentillesses de la même étoffe que ces drôles là se plaisent à me dire. Imbéciles qu'ils sont, ils croient que leur malice me touche.

Avez vous lu Mad. de Rémusat? Non? Ne manquez donc pas de la lire. Quoique un peu tard, ma soeur vous souhaite la bonne année. Mes compliments à Madame Margry et mes meilleurs souhaits à vous. Croyez moi toujours

Tout à vous

[The newspaper clipping follows]

(*Leaf 296*) (lacking)

(Leaf 297) n. p., n. d.*

Ma soeur et moi nous sommes à la campagne. Elle est toujours sensible à votre politesse dont elle me prie de vous témoigner sa réconnaissance empressée.

Tout à vous de coeur

Je ne crois pas que M. Spofford puisse trouver à reclamer si vous mettez vos volumes en vente en ce pays. Il serait bien sans doute de lui donner avis de vos intentions.

(Leaf 298) Hotel de l'Angleterre Dimanche Midi.

Mon cher ami,

J'avais l'intention de vous venir voir aujourdhui avant de recevoir votre billet de Samedi soir.

Il y a demain une séance de l'Institution Ethnographique, je ne sais à qu'elle heure. M. de Rosny m'a engagé d'y aller, en me promettant de m'envoyer des billets, en sorte que je n'ose pas accepter votre aimable invitation de déjeuner avec vous et Madame Margry. Je viendrai vous voir l'après midi. Je dois partir pour Londres Mardi Matin.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 300) [Paris] 2½ heures P. M.

Mon cher ami,

Voila deux fois que j'ai grimpé votre escalier aujourdhui. Je ne suis pas découragé. Je reviendrai demain. J'ai trouvé un photographe (Braun, 3 Boulevard des Capucines) pour faire une copie de l'aquarelle de Montcalm: et je l'ai prise pour vous la rendre au plutôt.

Tout à vous

* Parkman visited Paris in 1880 and again in 1881. This letter and the two that follow were written in 1880. Care of Parkman to Margry, January 21, 1889, below.

(Leaf 301) [Paris], n. d.

Mon cher ami,

Voila plus d'une heure que je vous attends. Je reviendrai plus tard, si je puis. Nous partons, ma soeur et moi, demain, par le premier train 7:35, pour Londres. À vous revoir l'année prochaine. En attendant, je vous serre la main très cordialement.

F. P.

J'étais hier chez M. de Circourt. Il me demanda si je vous connaissais, et parla de vous avec beaucoup d'éloges.

1 heure et ½
1¾ heure

P.S. Encore un quart d'heure, et vous ne venez pas. Je. . . .

(Leaf 302) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 8 Nov. 1880.

Mon cher ami,

Je vous envoyai l'autre jour, par la messagerie les 8 volumes de mes livres, reliés uniformément.

Trouvez-vous de place pour eux dans vos bibliothèques déjà si bien remplies? Je ne sais. Au moins, ce serait pour vous un souvenir de votre ami dévoué

N'oubliez pas mes compliments à Madame Margry.

(Leaf 303) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 27 Jan. 1881.

Mon cher Margry,

J'ai reçu vos deux lettres, avec celle que vous avez écrite à M. Spofford. Je l'ai envoyée à son addresse. Apropos de M. Spofford, j'ai rencontré à Londres Mr. Henry Stevens, que vous connaissez, si je ne me trompe pas. Je lui ai dit "I believe that you are the worst correspondant in the world." "No," repondit il,

"There is a man at Washington worse than I am. Sometimes I answer a letter. *He never answers one.*" "Who is he?" je demandai. "Spofford, librarian of Congress."

Je ne connais pas *Esther,* demeure de votre ami Shea.* Je crois que c'est quelque village de New Jersey derivé d'un nom biblique. Je viens de perdre une demi heure à parcourir son Hennepin. Il ne vaut pas la peine d'en faire la critique. M. Shea, à ce que l'on me dit, a appris le Français chez les Sulpiciens de Montreal. Son pére était Irlandais, maitre d'école à New York. Le fils s'est occupé depuis quelques années à rediger un journal populaire illustré.

Il n'y a pas de bonne histoire de la Caroline du Sud. L'histoire de Ramsay et celle de Drayton s'occupent seulement de la période de la Revolution Américaine. Celle de Simms s'appelle il est vrai "History of South Carolina," mais elle est très-superficielle. M. Simms est l'auteur de quelques romans, assez mediocres. Son histoire n'a pas de recherche, et n'est qu'une compilation. L'édition est épuisée, mais si vous le désirez, j'essayerai d'en trouver un exemplaire.

Ne craignez pas que je me ruine en vous faisant des présents de Nöel. Celui que je vous ai envoyé ne m'a pas couté un sou. Voilà l'affaire. Au mois d'Octobre, étant de retour à Boston, j'ai trouvé que M. M. Little Brown et Cie, éditeurs de mes livres, avaient publié en mon absence des éditions au nombre, tout compris, d'environ 6000 volumes. Ils s'étaient obligés par contrat de me donner gratuitement quelques volumes de chaque édition (à raison de 10 sur 1000). Ainsi ils ont envoyé chez moi un énorme paquet de 60 volumes—Qu'en faire? me dis-je. Il me vint l'idée d'en envoyer une partie à des amis en Angleterre et en France. Alors je demandai aux editeurs des volumes reliés en leur offrant en échange un plus grand nombre des autres. J'addressai un paquet, de reliés comme les votres, au Comte de Carnarvon en Angle-

* John Gilmary Shea. The only "Esther" in the Century Atlas, first copyrighted in 1897, is Nebraska.—Editor.

terre; un autre paquet, reliure ordinaire, à un homme de lettres à Londres; enfin le présent de Nöel contre lequel vous avez si vigoureusement protesté. Voilà tous mes envois.

Ma soeur vous souhaite la bonne année.

Mes compliments à Madame

et croyez moi

Tout à vous

(Leaf 305) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 29. Dec. 1881.

Mon cher ami,

J'écris pour souhaiter la bonne année à Madame Margry et à vous.

Me voici enfin chez moi dans ma salle d'étude, un peau de caribou sous les pieds, des peaux de castor sur le canapé, des portraits de Montcalm, d'Amherst, de Wolf aù dessus du feu, avec une grosse pipe en pierre rouge qu'un chef Sioux m'a donnée, et l'épée de mon frère cadet, officier dans la guerre de 1861-65, qui après avoir échappé à mille dangers, fut tué en Californie par une chute accidentale.

Je travaille à ce moment aux affaires de l'Acadie. Sur ce sujet j'ai beaucoup de documents anglais, et deux gros volumes de ceux que vous m'avez envoyés. La provenance de ces derniers n'est pas indiquée, ce qui diminue beaucoup leur valeur. Je suppose que la plupart est tirée des Archives de la Marine. Voulez-vous me dire si j'ai raison. Les Canadiens trouveront à redire de certaines choses que je vais écrire, et il faut me fortifier de mon mieux.

J'attends avec impatience votre quatrième volume, aimant mieux l'avoir de vos mains que de celles de M. Spofford.

Dec. 31. Avant hier après avoir écrit ce qui précède, je sortis prendre l'air dans un horrible temps de pluie, et en rentrant une heure après je trouvai sur la table votre lettre du 11 de ce mois, que le garçon de poste avait apportée pendant mon absence. Je suis désolé du mauvais état de votre santé. Il faut vous reposer

quand même, et chercher des distractions. Votre tempérament est naturellement très-fort mais vous avez mené une vie à la fois trop sédentaire et trop laborieuse. Il faut vous soigner. Il ne sera pas nécessaire d'envoyer d'autres exemplaires. Promener tous les jours que le temps est beau, ne pas travailler après 10 heures du soir, et lire des romans au lieu d'étudier quand vous sentez des maux de tête ou des vertiges. Demandez à Madame Margry, en la faisant encore une fois mes compliments, si je ne vous conseille pas bien.

Ma soeur vous envoie ses bons souhaits pour la nouvelle année.

Tout à vous de coeur.

(not signed)

(Leaf 307) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 2 Fev. 1882.

Mon cher ami,

J'ai reçu le volume IV. C'est un trésor pour l'histoire de la vallée du Mississippi, et bienqu'il ne soit pas pour moi aussi intéressant que les autres, il le sera encore plus pour les peuples de la Louisiane et de tous les pays du sud-ouest.

Ci-inclus vous trouverez un extrait de la *Nation,* le meilleur de nos journaux politiques et littéraires. Je vous enverrai plus tard le *circular* dont il est parlé.

Notre ami Shea n'en est pas content.

Mes meilleurs souvenirs à Madame Margry.

tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 311) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 3 Avril 1882.

Mon cher Margry,

Votre lettre est arrivée l'autre jour; et je reçois ce matin même la notice que vous trouverez sous ce pli. Un terrible malheur est tombé sur les habitants des bords du bas Mississippi. Les inondations sont si excessives qu'au lieu d'une mille, sa largeur ordinaire, le fleuve, en plusieurs endroits, a pris l'étendue

de 75 milles. Vous pouvez vous figurer la détresse du malheureux peuple. Dans un tel débâcle de misères, la Nouvelle Orleans ne veut pas de fêtes. Aussi celle de La Salle n'aura pas lieu.

Il y a six semaines, j'ai lu dans les journaux que j'allais faire un discours à cette occasion. Quinze jours après, je reçus une invitation formelle d'y jouer le rôle d'orateur que j'étais obligé de refuser à cause de l'état de ma santé. Du reste, un voyage de 4000 milles, aller et retour, n'est pas toujours facile. J'aimerais mieux passer en Europe. Le trajet serait plus court et plus agréable.

Mon gendre m'a envoyé par le poste le beau volume dont vous avez bien voulu me faire cadeau. Il l'a mis en deux pour ne pas se ruiner en timbres-poste; mais cela ne fait pas de mal. On va le relier comme édition de luxe.

M. Marshall m'écrit que M. Spofford est toujours insupportable dans les délais de sa correspondance. Voulez vous que je lui écrive pour l'aiguiser un peu?

Il n'est arrivé rien de nouveau chez nous si ce n'est pas la visite de six chefs sauvages de Zeñi, village du Nouveau Mexique, avec leur interprète, jeune homme qui a demeuré parmi eux pendant 3 ans seulement pour étudier leurs moeurs, leur langage, et leur religion. En me voyant il a paru étonné, ayant entendu que j'étais tombé dans une extrême vieillesse, et que la mort m'attendait de jour en jour. C'est ainsi que l'on médit de jeunes hommes tels que nous.

J'ai dit qu'il n'y avait pas de nouvelles. Que Dieu me pardonne. Longfellow est mort.

Ma soeur vous envoie ses bons souvenirs. Veuillez faire mes compliments à Madame Margry et croyez moi

Tout à vous

(Leaf 313) Boston, 17 Oct. 1882.

Mon cher Margry,

Etant de retour d'un voyage aux montagnes Adirondacks, ancien pays de chasse des Iroquois, je trouve les épreuves des premiers pages de votre 5*me* volume. J'y revois des pièces qui me sont déjà bien connues avec d'autres tout à fait nouvelles, avant tout le mémoire de La Motte Cadillac dont j'attends la suite avec intérêt.

Nous sommes ici dans les plus beaux temps de l'automne. Les forêts, les montagnes sont comme une parterre de fleurs, tant les couleurs des feuilles sont vives et variées. Avec les épreuves je trouve un cadeau d'une espèce tout à fait différente. C'est une peau d'ours dont l'ancien possesseur fut tué par un chasseur ce printemps au lac Tête d'Original (Moosehead Lake) Etat de Maine, aux endroits que j'ai parcouru il y a 5 ou 6 ans avec le juge Gray. Ce juge n'est plus ici. Il est monté aux sommets judiciares. Lui, son chat, et ses livres sont maintenant à Washington, où il siège dans la cour souveraine de la république, magnifique objet, un savant colosse dans une robe noire.

Hier j'ai vu un jeune homme qui était de retour de l'Ouest où il avait demeuré quelque temps à la ville de Denver, état de Colorado, au pied des Montagnes Rocheuses. En l'entendant parler, je me croyais un homme du siècle passé. En 1846 je me suis campé sur l'emplacement de Denver. Nous étions cinq, mon ami Shaw, moi, deux chasseurs, et un muletier. Depuis huit jours nous n'avions pas vu un seul homme blanc excepté deux on trois trappeurs dans un campement de sauvages cheyennes, et après avoir laissé l'endroit dont je parle, nous marchimes à cheval encore sept jours sans rencontrer personne. Le site de Denver était une solitude absolue, habitée seulement par des serpents à sonnettes, dont nous tuames un de 4 pieds de longeur. Tout ce pays était alors le royaume du boeuf sauvage, de l'élan, du loup, et de l'ours gris. Aujourdhui il y a, sur le terrain même

où nous étions campés, une ville de plus de 100,000 âmes, des églises, des théâtres, des hôtels, des gares. Ce sont les mines d'or dans les montagnes qui ont fait ce miracle.

Il y a longtemps que je n'ai rien entendu de vos nouvelles. Ma soeur vous envoie ses bon souvenirs. Adieu: n'oubliez pas mes compliments à Madame Margry.

Tout à vous de coeur.

(Leaf 315) Boston 5 Oct. 1883.

Mon cher Margry,

Je crois que vous m'avez tenu pour mort depuis le printemps. Ma fille ainée, Madame Coffin à accouche au commencement de l'été. Peu après, la fièvre l'a prise et elle est restée jusqu'au mi-Septembre dans un état très critique. Je n'ai pas osé bouger d'ici excepté pour aller tous les 2 jours 17 milles à Lynn, où elle et son mari étaient allés au printemps pour passer la chaude saison. Elle a éprouvé depuis 10 jours un changement si heureux, que les médecins la prononcent hors de danger. Ma soeur, aidée de deux garde-malades, la soigna pendant toute sa maladie, et j'ai resté ici en garçon. Vous voyez que la vie d'un "nabob littéraire" comme vous me faites l'honneur de m'appeler, n'est pas toujours absolument gaie.

Je viens de faire un petit voyage de 6 jours aux Montagnes Blancs de New Hampshire. Après un journée de chemin-de-fer, j'ai descendu à un petit hôtel, très bien tenu par un nommé Wentworth, dont j'ai loué un cheval, fort comme un mulet, pour faire le tour des montagnes. Le Samedi dernier j'ai parti, portant quelques hordes en paquet derrière la selle. J'ai marché ainsi 80 milles, et, le Lundi, après midi, j'ai descendu à un autre hôtel à la tête d'un fameux défilé entre deux grands montagnes, escarpés et très hauts. La soirée était magnifique, et le Mont Washington était couvert de neige, rougie par le soleil couchant. Mais le lendemain tout était changé. Le haut des montagnes était enveloppé par des nuages épais, noirs, et menaçants. Cependant j'ai monté

de bonne heure pour descendre le défilé, mais j'avais marché à peine 6 milles quand la pluie commença. Il n'y avait presque pas d'habitants à cause de la sterilité sauvage du pays. J'étais bientôt mouillé comme une éponge. Enfin, à une heure, je me suis abrité dans une mauvaise auberge où je restai quelque temps, me desséchant devant un feu énorme, mangeant un peu et faisant manger à mon cheval. A deux heures la pluie se changea en neige, qui tomba si abondament que la route en était tout couverte et les branches des arbres, encore en feuille, en étaient tellement chargées qu'elles se penchaient à terre. Je partis à deux heures et demi, et, marchant au plus vite, j'arrivai au soir à l'hôtel du brave Wentworth qui me reçut avec empressement comme ancien habitué de la maison et m'apporta sur-le-champ un bon verre de *whisky* bien chaud. Je retrouvai mes malles, je fis un changement de vêtements, et bienque je sois grandpère de 60 ans, je ne me trouve pas incommodé de l'aventure.

Mes compliments à Madame Margry.

Tout à vous

(Leaf 317) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 5 Feb. 1884.

Mon cher Margry,

On m'a envoyé un ouvrage espagnol, intitulé, "Don Diego de Peñolosa y su Descubrimiento del Reino de Quivera" Madrid, 1882.

Il renferme les traductions de plusieurs documents de vos 1re, 2me, et 3me volumes, avec le prétendu journal de Quivera. L'auteur vous cite très-souvent. Je n'ai pas encore lu le livre en entier, mais il me paraît assez bien fait.

Le gouvernement provincial de Québec a fait copier la collection de documents faite aux Archives de Paris par l'illustre Pore il y a 40 ans ou environ, et deposée actuellement aux archives de l'Etat de Massachusetts. On en commence l'impression à Québec. Je rezus l'autre jour le 1er volume. Il y en aura plusieurs autres.

Il me tarde de voir votre 6 me volume, lequel sera la couronne des grands travaux qui vous feront honneur aux yeux de la posterité.

Vous dites que vous êtes souffrant. Soignez vous bien, et n'oubliez pas que l'histoire s'intéresse à votre santé.

Je travail toujours à Montcalm, qui sera fini, j'espère avant l'été. C'est une vraie pièce de résistance, à cause de l'amas énorme de documents, autant Anglais que Français.

Ma fille s'est parfaitement rétablie, et la petite fille, née en Juin, se porte à merveille. Celle-ci a d'excellents poumons, à en juger par les effets vocaux. Ma soeur vous envoye ses meilleurs souhaits. Mes compliments à Madame Margry. Je vous serre la main.

(Leaf 319) Jamaica Plain near Boston 2 Sept. 1884.

Mon cher Margry,

Vous demandez sans doute, si je suit mort. Pas encore. Seulement j'ai la vue si faible depuis quelques mois, et je suis au même temps tout persecuté par le petit suppôt de Satan qu'on appelle chez nous *the printers devil* que j'ai presque renoncé à toute correspondance. Aujourd'hui le diable ne vient pas. Pas d'épreuves à corriger. Aussi je ne perds pas l'occasion de vous griffer quelques lignes, comme souvenir.

Mon *Montcalm and Wolfe* paraîtra cette automne, et vous recevrez un des premiers exemplaires.

Dites moi de vos nouvelles, car il me tarde d'apprendre si votre santé résiste encore aux travaux et à la vie sédentaire à laquelle vous vous condamnez. Comment va le grand oeuvre? Je n'en ai pas reçu d'épreuves depuis longtemps. Les étudiants de l'histoire d'Amérique vous savent gré de ce que vous avez fait pour eux, et,—c'est la façon du monde—attendent avec impatience ce que vous allez leur donner encore.

Mon gendre a un portrait au Salon. C'est celui de sa femme. Il n'en est pas content. Les autres disent que la chose est bien faite. La demeure à Paris tire à la fin. J'espère de le revoir, et ma fille aussi, au printemps.

Nous sommes ici dans l'agonie de la lutte politique qu'il faut subir tous les quatre ans. Bon ou mauvais nous aurons un nouveau président en Novembre. Vive la République! Priez pour nous, vous aussi, vous avez besoin de prières.

Cependant je vous serre la main, et je vous prie de ne pas oublier mes compliments à Madame Margry. "Mes meilleurs souhaits à Monsieur Margry" dit ma soeur.

Tout à vous de coeur.

(Leaf 321) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 25 Nov. '84.

Mon cher Margry,

Je vous envoyai, il y a deux jours, les deux volumes de mon Montcalm. Lisez les quand vous aurez le temps, et croyez moi toujours,

Votre tout dévoué

(Leaf 322) Pays d'Outre Tombe 14 Juillet 1885.

Je me trouve ici par suite de la maladie dont vous a parlé mon compatriote anonyme. On m'a envoyé votre billet par la poste aerienne viâ la voie lactée. J'ai causé plusieurs fois avec Champlain, Frontenac, Montcalm, Brébeuf et autres. Brébeuf m'appelle héretique et dit qu'il est à tort que je ne suis pas dans les feux. Je suis assez bien ici, vu les désordres de ma vie passée.

Maintenant, pour être plus à portée de vous, je descendrai encore une fois sur la terre, où, Graces* à Dieu, j'espére demeurer quelque temps, la dite maladie n'ayant pas été des plus dangereuses. Mon addresse est toujours 50 Chestnut St. Boston, bienque je sois à ce moment à la campagne aux bords d'un joli petit

* So in MS.

lac qu'on appelle Jamaica Pond—Etang de Jamaïque. Je m'occupe toujours de l'histoire, je lis, j'écris, je me promène à cheval, je dîne chez un voisin, ou bien je fais mes devoirs à quelque belle voisine. A présent ma santé est assez bonne.

Dites moi, je vous prie, quand votre sixième volume paraîtra, ou bien quand j'en pourrais attendre les bonnes épreuves.

Encore une fois, dites moi si vous connaissez quelqu'un qui pourra copier quelques documents aux Archives des Affaires Étrangères, dont je fournirai les titres et les indications. Il y aura, je crois, pour 500 à 1000 pages.

J'espére que vous trouvez votre nouvelle demeure tout ce que vous pouvez désirer.

Ma soeur vous remercie de vos bons souvenirs, et m'engage de vous envoyer ses meilleurs souhaits.

N'oubliez pas mes compliments à Madame Margry et croyez-moi

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 324) Jamaica Plain (near Boston) Mass. 2 Juillet 1887.

Mon cher Margry,

Je suis bien aise d'avoir de vos nouvelles et de savoir que les malheureux soupçons que vous avait conçus contre moi sont enfin dissipés. Rien de plus denué de fondement. Loin de m'approcher de vos enenemis, je n'en sais seulement les noms à l'exception de Shea et de Harrisse; et quant a ceux-ci, je n'ai vu ni l'un ni l'autre depuis plus de 10 années, ni tenu aucune correspondance avec eux. Quand j'étais chez vous, vous avez parlé d'une brochure où on s'est servi de mon nom contre vous. Je voudrais bien voir cette pièce. J'y trouverais peut-être des choses auxquelles il faut répondre. Si vous pouvez m'envoyer un exemplaire, je vous en saurai gré.

Coolidge est encore en Europe, avec sa femme et ses deux filles. J'ai rencontré celles-ci par hazard à Londres, 2 jours après mon départ de Paris. Coolidge m'a dit que c'était un vrai plaisir

pour lui que d'avoir fait votre connaissance. C'est un excellent homme, avec du coeur et de l'esprit.

Je vous félicite de votre succès auprès de l'Archevêque de Rouen et de la réussite—au moins en partie—de vos efforts désintéressés pour faire honneur au mémoire de Cavelier de la Salle.

Je suis ici avec ma soeur, par un temps excessivement chaud. Mon malheureux genou ne se retablit pas, mais j'espère que cela s'améliorera plus tard. En attendant je fais tous les matins un voyage autour du petit lac aux bords duquel je demeure. Je . . . environs* à la mode des voyageurs, ce que me donne de l'air et de l'exercice.

Ma soeur vous envoie ses meilleurs souhaits. N'oubliez pas mes compliments à Madame Margry, et croyez-moi.

Tout à vous de coeur

Je vois par les journaux de Washington que le Major Benjamin Perley Poore s'est envolé de chez nous autres mortels.

(Leaf 326) 50 Chestnut Street Boston 12 Avril 1888.

Mon cher Margry,

Je reste ici, espèce de prisonnier depuis l'automne, à cause à ce qu'on me dit, d'un mauvais héritage reçu de mon grand-père, qui aimait le vin d'Espagne et qui en a légué les effets à quelques uns de ses descendants. C'est la goutte mêlée du rheumatisme. Manque d'exercice je ne dors que très peu, quelquefois pas du tout; et le médecin, avec une solemnité on ne peut plus impossante, me dit, "Vous ne dormez pas; alors vous ne pouvez pas travailler. N'écrivez point d'histoire, lisez les romans, restez tranquille, soyez philosophe; si non je ne réponds pas de votre cervelle." Or, ma cervelle, telle qu'elle est, me tient au coeur. Aussi, je suis loyalement (exceptés excipiendio) les conseils de

* One word is illegible and the next is doubtful.—Copyist.

mon médecin. Je n'écris pas d'histoire et je lis les romans. On ne sait si cela durera. Maudit soit Madrid, où le mal a commencé, il y a un an.

Et vous, comment va votre santé? Il me tarde d'avoir de vos nouvelles.

L'Abbé Casgrain a fait une trouvaille considérable. Il a déterré les papiers du Maréchal de Lévis, arrangés et reliés par lui après son retour de l'Amérique. Ils contiennent, dit l'Abbé, une foule de lettres de Montcalm et autres. J'aurai de quoi m'occuper quand j'aurai fini mes romans et appris un peu à dormir.

Je suis encore à Boston, mais dans huit jours je vais à Jamaica Plain, demeurer auprès de mes bons amis les rats musqués.

N'oubliez pas mes meilleurs compliments à Madame Margry. Ma soeur m'engage de vous envoyer ses bons souvenirs.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 328) Wentworth Hall près Portsmouth N. H. 1 Sept. 1888.

Mon cher Margry,

J'écris cette lettre de la maison d'un des anciens gouverneurs royaux de New Hampshire, Benning Wenworth, qui l'a bâtie en 1750. Lui et ses descendants en ligne collatérale l'ont habitée jusqu'en 1885. Alors mon gendre Coolidge l'a achetée, en a chassé les rats, et l'a réparé. Il y demeure à ce moment, avec sa femme et ses trois petites filles. La vieille maison passe ici pour la principale curiosité du voisinage, et elle est en effet une assez curieuse relique de notre époque coloniale. Du reste, c'est un vrai séjour d'artiste, assis comme il est aux bords de la mer, à l'embouchure de la rivière Piscataqua, une lieue au dessous de la ville de Portsmouth. En face il y a une baye remplie d'isles dont la plupart reste inhabitée. Les dix mousquets de la garde d'honneur du gouverneur sont encore suspendus, tout rouillés, sur une espèce de râtelier au dessus de l'une des portes.

Je serai de retour bientôt à Jamaica Plain, revenir à mes moutons et revoir mes rats musqués. J'ai passé quelques semaines ici, à ramer et à pêcher, et à lire les Mémoirs de Philippe de Comines. Grace à l'air de l'océan j'ai retrouvé en partie la faculté de dormir, que j'avais presque perdu.

Il me tarde d'avoir des nouvelles de votre santé. En vous priant de ne pas oublier mes compliments à Madame Margry je vous serre affectueusement la main.

Vous aurez reçu sans doute l'article sur la Vérendrye que je vous ai envoyé au printemps.

(Leaf 330) 50 Chestnut Street. 21 Jan. 1889.

Mon cher Margry,

J'ai reçu ce matin votre bonne lettre du 8me de ce mois. J'ai attendu avec impatience l'arrivé du bel exemplaire de votre 6me volume que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer par les mains de M. Reinwald, mais jusqu'à présent je ne l'ai pas reçu. J'ai prié M. M. Little, Brown et Cie d'écrire à leur correspondant M. Reinwald, pour s'en informer, car je fais grand cas de ce volume, et je regretterais extremement de ne pas l'avoir.

Ma santé n'est pas encore rétablie et les médecins me defendent encore de travailler—même d'écrire une lettre—et j'obéis fidèlement quand je ne puis pas faire autrement. C'est un vif plaisir pour moi de croire que vous vous portez mieux que l'année passée. Je vous souhaite de tout mon coeur une santé encore améliorée.

Mes meilleurs souvenirs à M. de Circourt. J'ai passé chez lui une journée très agréable en 1880.

Voulez-vous m'indiquer le numéro du Moniteur qui contient votre article (écrit, je crois, en 1853) sur l'affaire du Detroit attaqué par les Outayamis[?] en 1712.

Bien qu'un peu tard, je souhaite très-cordialement la bonne année à vous et à Madame Margry.

Ma soeur m'engage à vous envoyer ses bons souvenirs.

Tout à vous de coeur

Madame Coolidge est accouchée d'un fils depuis quinze jours. Aussi me voilà grandpère pour la septième fois, car ma fille ainée, Madame Coffin a trois enfants.

(Leaf 332) 50 Chestnut St. Boston 29 Jan. 1889.

Mon cher Margry,

M. Reinwald écrit à M. M. Little, Brown, & Cie qu'il a envoyé votre 6me volume à leurs correspondants, M. M. Sampson Low et Cie de Londres, qui l'ont gardé, sans doute, pour l'expédier à Boston avec leur premier envoi de livres. Je l'attends de jour en jour. Mille remerciements.

Mes compliments à Madame Margry.

Tout à vous de coeur

(Leaf 334) Boston 4. Fev. 1889.

Mon cher Margry,

Enfin j'ai le 6me volume entre les mains. Il est précieux comme souvenir, et comme le couronnement d'une grande oeuvre.

Tout à vous de coeur

Toujours mes compliments à Madame Margry.

(Leaf 335) (No heading).

Mon cher Margry,

Vous me croyez, sans doute, un très mauvais correspondant, mais ce n'est pas faute de bonne volonté. Mon tyran, le médecin, me défend d'écrire, sauf en cas de nécessité. Mais c'est un vrai cas de nécessité que d'entrétenir les rapports d'amitié; ainsi je suis libre d'écrire à vous, ancien ami que vous êtes.

Quant à la statue de Cavelier de la Salle, je n'en sais rien. Notre digne ministre à Bruxelles (qui je ne connais pas et je crois qu'il ne me connait non plus)—pourra bien l'ériger à Chi-

cago ou ailleurs, comme il lui plaira; et peut-être voudrat-il faire lui-même l'éloge du découvreur. Au moins il ne m'a pas communiqué ses intentions. En effet, je n'ai pas entendu parler de cette statue.

Je suis aujourdhui à Jamaica Plain, aux bords de ce petit lac si bien aimé des rats musqués. Demain j'irai chez ma fille, Madame Coolidge, à sa maison de campagne—très pittoresque du reste—aux bords de la mer, à trois milles de l'ancien Piscataqua, maintenant la ville de Portsmouth. La maison fut bâtie en 1750 par Benning Wentworth, gouverneur royal du province de New Hampshire. Comme Sancha Panza je suis seigneur et propriétair d'une petite isle; faite, il est vrai, principalement de rochers, et habitée par quelques douzaines de lapins, mais en face de la vieille maison, dont elle fait la défense assurée contre des voisins désagréables. La pêche y est bonne, et les vendredis le poisson ne manquera pas à la table de ma fille, car je suis à présent plutôt pêcheur qu'écrivain.

N'oubliez pas mes compliments à Madame Margry. Ma soeur vous envoie ses meilleurs souhaits. Tout à vous de coeur

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Tatum, Howell
Major Howell Tatum's journal while acting topographical engineer

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